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Glen Oaks Residential Community: a case study about the implications of gated communities

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**Glen Oaks Residential Community: a case study about the implications of gated
communities**

by

Rachael Bess Goldberg

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Major: Community and Regional Planning

Program of Study Committee
Timothy Borich, Major Professor
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Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa
2006

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DEDICATED TO

Jeffrey and Joann Goldberg,
Abbie Jackson, Ann Worland, and Jaime and Daphne Reyes

for being my biggest supporters on life.

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CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

*“Before I built a wall I’d ask to know what I was walling in or walling out,
And to whom I was like to give offence.”
– Excerpt from Robert Frost’s poem, “Mending Wall”*

In the last two decades, there has been a growth of gated communities in the United States and they have become a topic of considerable research interest among urbanists, architects, and planners (Low, 2004; Nasser, 2002; Sanchez et al, 2005). Gated communities can be defined as residential areas that offer a sense of security through gates, fences, private security guards, exclusionary land-use policies, development regulations (Snyder and Blakely, 1999), and/or the blocking off of general traffic. Also called ‘gated enclaves’ and ‘common interest developments’, these communities represent a form of post-modern urbanism often found in the suburban landscape. Gated communities are often governed by a self-governing homeowners association, and this is a legal agreement between the resident and the developer. When asked why they self-select to live in gated communities, people cite safety, noise and traffic reduction, aesthetics, prestige, and protection of property values as reason, with security typically the most common.

In gated communities, walls prevent public access to streets, sidewalks, parks, beaches, rivers, trails, and playgrounds. In 2001, more than 7 million households – about 6 percent of the national total – in the U.S. lived in walled or fenced developments and over 4 million households living in communities that were controlled by some means such as entry codes, key cards, or security guard approval (Nasser, 2002; Sanchez et al, 2005; Low, 2004). This trend has changed the appearance and organizational structure of American urban and suburban areas, creating social fragmentation and exclusive areas. Despite gated communities' apparent popularity with homeowners, some social scientists and many academics are skeptical about the effects of "privatopia"¹, a term coined by Evan McKenzie.

Gated communities raise interesting questions and have resulted in widespread debate around their likely future impact on the social framework in American cities and suburbs.

¹ McKenzie calls this realm “privatopia” because it represents the pursuit of utopian aspirations through privatization of public life.

One such question of debate concerns whether gated communities differentiate between social classes by providing the prestige and elite a homogeneous neighborhood, or are gated communities a mechanism of safety and control? Other questions of interest concerns what motivates residents to move into gated communities and do gated communities provide a greater sense of community over a non-gated community?

Gated communities are a recent development in city of West Des Moines and in state of Iowa at large. Glen Oaks was one of the first gated communities in developed in West Des Moines and in the state of Iowa at large. This thesis analyzes the phenomenon of gated communities and its social implications. A review of literature will highlight some of the ideological foundations of gated communities and will also demonstrate the influence these gated communities have on society and on urban form.

Issues of Gated Communities

The phenomenon of the gated community as an element of the residential built landscape has brought with it a considerable amount of debate regarding its implications. Issues such as safety and security are often the primary motivations for people moving into gated communities (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). However, there are various opinions on whether or not gated communities actually reduce crime, and instead are communities based on lifestyle, prestige, and exclusivity. Crime has been decreasing in the United States since the mid 1990s (FBI, Department of Justice, 2003), conversely there has been an increase in the fear of crime (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). This increase in fear is attributed to a growing distrust in government and skepticisms of people living in suburbs. The fear of crime has real consequences just as actual crime does; it can affect the quality of life, leading to social polarization and distrust among others. Nasser (2002) states that living behind walls and knowing your neighbors creates a safety zone for many Americans confronting post-9/11 jitters.

Another issue arising from the debate about gated communities is that of exclusion and segregation. Gated communities are physically separated from the surrounding area and zones of restricted access are created. This creates difficulty for pedestrians, bicyclists, and automobiles to move around or access the city, forcing them to take alternative routes that

may take longer. Gated communities negatively impact the daily life patterns of people and disrupt the continuity of urban form and traffic patterns.

Landman (2000) questions the sustainability of gated communities. Gated communities have been organized and marketed as a solution to contemporary problems rather than as a search for a better communal system. Landman contends that gated communities have the potential to radically transform the urban environment and can influence the concurrence of the urban rich and poor, social and economic opportunity and the decision-making process of both national and local governments. These transformations and conflicts could have a dramatic impact on the long-term sustainability of cities.

However, developers propose a different concept of the gated community, arguing that gates yield financial and environmental benefits. Homes in gated communities are often more expensive and retain value over non-gated subdivisions. This is because of the amenities provided inside the gates, maintenance of common grounds, and the perception of safety. The state of Florida is facing several environmental challenges, such as rapid urban sprawl into farmland and wetlands, and developers are trying to reverse the side effects of urban sprawl by developing gated, planned or private communities to preserve the environment. Issues such as segregation and isolation are overlooked and there is more focus on the amenities inside the gates: golf, trails, sailing, etc. Development companies of Florida's gated communities feel that these amenities maintain the "natural beauty of the existing physical environment" (Acorns, 2004).

Discussed more in depth in Chapter Two, gated communities have potential implications for society; they can influence safety, privacy, sense of community, traffic, the control and regulation of the environment, and the role of the local government. Gates provide a false sense of security; for example Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain, "Gates encourage lax behavior—doors left unlocked, garage doors left open, alarm systems not turned on." No further measures are taken to secure the neighborhood; some see the gates as obstructive and hold the perspective that since people cannot enter their neighborhood it is secure. In all reality, the gates are permeable; tailgaters enter and the access codes are very rarely changed, which makes it easier for 'undesirables' to enter. In addition, the self-

governing homeowners association creates a multi-layered governance made of complex public and private responsibilities (Le Goix, 2003).

Planners and researchers worldwide have documented these implications. The effects of gated communities on residents, non-residents, urban form, and society are many and varied. Although the amenities, lifestyles, and aesthetics found inside the gates may be viewed by others as attractive, the people living outside the gates do not receive the benefits and often witness the negative side effects of these communities.

Study Neighborhood

In 1991, the founders of Glen Oaks wanted “to create a community, club, and golf course unparalleled in the state of Iowa” (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006). Glen Oaks Residential Community was one of the first gated communities developed in the state of Iowa and it was developed at a time when gated communities became increasingly popular in the United States. West Des Moines has experienced tremendous growth since the mid 1990s. In 1990, West Des Moines had a population of 31,702, and by 2000 the population had jumped to 46,403. This represents a 46.4 percent increase. The 2005 Census estimates West Des Moines’ population at 51,744, an 11.5 percent increase since the 2000 Census.



Figure 1. Glen Oaks Residential Community Location (Yahoo Maps).

The city of West Des Moines has become one of the fastest growing cities in the state of Iowa. In 2003, the city of West Des Moines issued more than \$250 million in new construction permits (City of West Des Moines, 2006).

Glen Oaks Residential Community is located in a prime location, near the intersections of I-35 and I-80, as well as near Iowa's shopping and entertainment districts: the New Urbanists development of West Glen Town Center and Jordan Creek Town Center, a super regional shopping mall (see Figure 1). West Des Moines has the reputation as a safe community, with outstanding schools, convenient shopping, and excellent employment opportunities (West Des Moines, 2006).

Once open farmland, Glen Oaks is a 532 acre gated community with an expected 465 units at completion. A mixture of land uses surrounds Glen Oaks Residential Community: community commercial, single-family residential, multi-family residential, and open space and recreational. It is located within one mile of the Westridge Elementary School. Residents in Glen Oaks are offered a variety of housing types; townhouses, condominiums, and single-family dwellings all share common spaces and neighborhood amenities.

Glen Oaks current zoning includes Open Space PUD, Single-Family PUD and Medium Density Residential PUD. The classification of PUD allows for the planned development of an area in which the proposed land uses, transportation elements, building densities, arrangements, types, architecture and other development standards are set out in a unified plan. A PUD must consist of at least ten (10) acres and the building unit density of the land should not be in excess of the density of the present zoning prior to PUD zoning and/or by the comprehensive plan of the city of West Des Moines (West Des Moines, 2006).

Glen Oaks is very similar to other housing developments found in West Des Moines, utilizing curvilinear streets, cul-de-sacs, large open spaces behind properties, and garages that dominate house facades. These elements found in housing developments are described as a conventional method to suburban design. The gate surrounding Glen Oaks and the golf lifestyle it provides allows it to differentiate itself from other conventional subdivisions found in West Des Moines.

The center of Glen Oaks is the Golf Club and the Clubhouse; the houses, townhomes, and condominiums surround the golf course. The golf course is private and members are required to pay an annual membership fee. See Appendix D to see a listing of membership fees. Of the 285 homeowners living in Glen Oaks, 202 of those residents are members of the Glen Oaks Country Club; remarkable 70.6 percent of Glen Oaks residents are members of

the Club². From these statistics, it is easy to discern that this is in fact a golf lifestyle community, which is discussed in greater context in the following chapter.

Methodology

This study focuses on evaluating the underlying motivations that influence residents to ‘fort up’ and enclose themselves from the rest of the community. It attempts to explain why people decide to live in the Glen Oaks Residential Community, even though there are lower levels of crime in that area, as compared to the national levels of crime. The detailed research design outlined in chapter three describes the study area, the gated community and its self-governing homeowners association, the amenities that influenced residents to live in Glen Oaks, and if in fact the gates promote a higher sense of community. A sample population of the Glen Oaks residents was surveyed to find out the median age group of residents, their occupation, marital status, if they wanted to live in a gated community, if any amenity attracted them to live in Glen Oaks, or if the fear of crime was the overriding factor to draw them behind the gates. The results are interpreted with the awareness that residents who completed and returned the questionnaire may not be representative of the residents as a whole.

Purpose of Study

Recognizing the potential affects of gated developments on the rest of society, this case study analyzes residents’ motivations and desires to move into Glen Oaks Residential Community located in West Des Moines. There are 6 objectives to this study:

1. Review existing literature to understand the wide-ranging issues of having gated developments.
2. Contribute to the understanding of the phenomenal growth of gated communities in the United States by researching and analyzing the Glen Oaks Residential Community.
3. Identify the demographic characteristics of Glen Oaks residents and understand the motivations of Glen Oaks residents in moving there.

² These figures are recent as of March 16, 2006.

4. Determine what amenity or amenities attract residents the most.
5. Evaluate the sense of community behind the gates.
6. Review the impact that gated communities may have on urban sustainability.

Hypothesis

The intent of this research is to determine the motivations or desires that influence residents to move into the Glen Oaks Residential Community and if there is a greater sense of community created because of the gates. Furthermore, the purpose of this research is to consider the potential long-term impact that gated communities can have on urban development. This research question is premised on the hypothesis that gated communities are enclaves that provide the opportunity for habitants to live in an environment with people like themselves, emphasizing status and lifestyle and not the desire of safety and security.

Assumptions

The foundation of this study is based on the following assumptions:

- There are explicit differences among gated communities found throughout the United States.
- Each individual response probably has a different concept of community satisfaction, depending on age of resident, marital status, if children are present, and level of neighborhood friendliness.
- In some communities, consumers lack housing choice, especially where gated communities are prominent.
- Gated communities are expensive to live in and low-income families generally cannot afford living in a gated community or a private governed community.
- Developers and investors are primarily focused on sales and profits and less interested in innovative growth practices.
- Some academics are generally concerned about the decline of social capital in communities.
- There is a growing fear of crime, despite a national decrease in crime.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to the study:

- The study was limited by a small sample size.
- No neighborhood crime statistics were obtained specifically for Glen Oaks or the surrounding properties. Only crime statistics for West Des Moines and Iowa at large were attained.
- Theorists use different typologies for gated communities. For example, Blakely and Snyder differentiate communities as being a lifestyle gated community, a prestige gated community, or a security-zone gated community. However, the American Housing Survey simply describes neighborhoods as either gated or non-gated and that they may or may not have residential fees.

Organization of the Study

The study has been divided into four chapters. After this introduction, Chapter Two reviews the existing literature and is categorized into the following themes: the evolution of the gated community, attitudes towards gated communities, motivations for moving into a gated community, homeowners associations, social segregation, crime, privatization, control, predictability and property values, resident satisfaction, the sustainability of our communities, retreat from a failing public government, impact on local governance, and the legal control of gated communities. Chapter Three provides information about the Glen Oaks Residential Community, the sample population, survey administration, survey results and analysis. Chapter Four presents the conclusions about the Glen Oaks Residential Community, future contributions to the study, and recommendations about future developments.

CHAPTER TWO:

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

“People want all the economic benefits of outsiders in their towns, but they don’t want the social problems. Essentially, they want to be parasites.” – Evan McKenzie

During the past two decades of planned residential developments, there has been a rise in the use of security measures such as entry control, perimeter security, and internal surveillance, leading to residential communities with gates. Gated communities have become prevalent in the United States, attracting millions of homebuyers for reasons such as prestige, leisure, and perceived safety (Blakely and Snyder, 1997) and are now becoming popular throughout the world. They represent a form of post-modern urbanism where public spaces and services are being privatized and secured (Le Goix, 2006), radically transforming the urban environment. Understanding the gated community in its evolution and spatial form, and why residents choose to live there provides an important perspective on the post-metropolis city.

Theory behind the Gated Community

The idea of gating a community is not unique to the United States, and in fact, the idea goes as far back to the Greek city-states, the walls around Jerusalem, and the moats and drawbridges around medieval castles. The walls stood as formidable reminders of class distinctions, as they protected privileged insiders against invaders and local villagers. Not until the latter half of the nineteenth century did the first purely residential gated neighborhoods appear.

The Garden City

Gated communities are often considered the reformation of the Garden City (Landman, 2000; McKenzie, 2003a). Ebenezer Howard, father of the British Garden City Movement, proposed the idea of a proprietary community, funded by private investment capital and managed by a 19th-century version of a community association (Webster et al,

2002). First published in 1898, his book *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* promoted the idea of private cities.

The concept of the Garden City consisted of a circular design with the public buildings and a park at the center. The rest of the city was constructed in concentric circles around the center with each having a particular function and significance. In the Garden City, the dominant ideology was privatism, the contract law was the extreme authority, property rights and property values were the focus of community life, and homogeneity, exclusiveness, and exclusion were the foundation of social organization (McKenzie, 1994). All of these themes are represented in the modern day gated community. Landman (2000) contends that gated communities could become the “new Garden City” model of the 21st century and the paradigm for city planning and urban design.

American History

In America, private residential developments have a long history as well. Historically, gated communities were established for the wealthy citizens; upper-income gated developments like New York Tuxedo Park and the private streets of St. Louis were built in the late 1800s by wealthy citizens to separate themselves from the industrial and poverty stricken city.

Modern gated communities became popular in the 1960s, however, they were popular only among the rich and privacy-conscious celebrities. During the 1970s, developers marketed the master-planned communities aimed primarily at senior citizens and retirees. Soon after, gates spread to resorts and country club developments. A real estate boom in the late 1980s and an increase in violent crime led to the proliferation of gated communities for ordinary middle-class families, particularly throughout the Sun Belt states (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), and by the 1990s, gates had become popular in the Northeast (Low, 2001). The decade also marketed the emergence of gated communities built primarily out of fear (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), known as the post-modern urbanism movement.

Reaction to Suburbanization

Suburbanization, an example of post-modern urbanism, is a term used to describe current social urban form that is intended to separate the resident from the city (Blakely and

Snyder, 1999). From the 1960s on, many citizens left the central city to live on the periphery of the city. Crime rates were increasing in the central city, as well as pollution and traffic congestion, therefore citizens wanted to take control of their environment. The suburbs were considered homogenous, cleaner, and safer. However, crime began to appear in the suburb as well and was no longer as uniform or as racially and ethnically homogenous as before. This resulted in people protecting their families and the value of their home in the form of gates and cul-de-sacs. Today, gated communities are a new form of suburbanization with the intention of not just separating person from city, but separating people from one another.

Post-Modernism

The post-modern movement is a reaction to a sense of insecurity in and the diminishing of the public realm, the gap between the rich and poor, increased access to information technologies, globalization, specialization, creating aesthetic uniformity, etc. (Ellin, 1997). Davis (1990) describes the growing insecurities of public space and the increase of security devices as the “militarization of space”. The growing insecurities have led to the emergence of a chaotic multi-nodal structure, post-metropolis developments including gates and security devices, hi-tech corridors, architectural sameness, public and private partnerships, and lifestyle divisions.

Growth of Gated Communities

In America, gated communities are more likely to dominate the landscape in places that have experienced a rapid growth since the 1980s, when they became increasingly popular (Romig, 2005). Thus, they are widely seen in the Sun Belt metro cities in Florida, Southern California, Texas, and Central Arizona (Low, 2004; Romig, 2005), and have recently become popular in cities like New Orleans, Long Island, Chicago, Atlanta, and the suburbs of Washington, D.C. (El Nasser, 2002). In 1995, it was estimated that four million people were living in gated communities in the United States. The number doubled in 1997 to eight million and to sixteen million by 1998 (Low, 2004). Figure 2 shows the growth of gated communities in the United States.

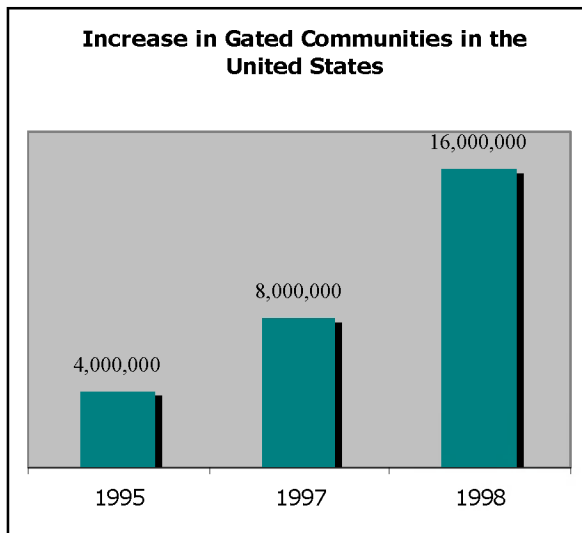


Figure 2. Gated Community Growth.

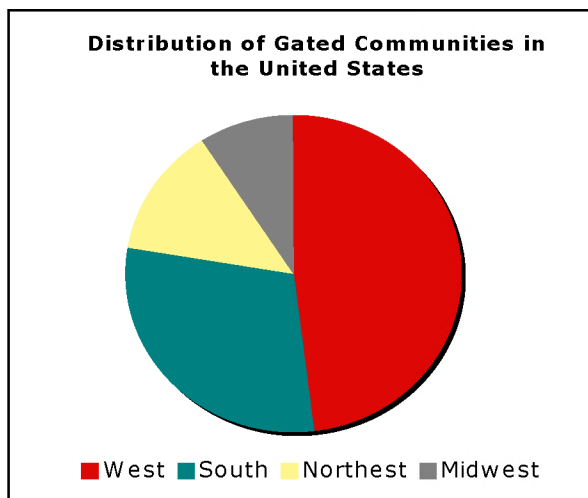


Figure 3. Gated Community Distribution.

The percentages of households living in gated communities vary by region with the West having the highest percentage (11.1 percent), followed by the South (6.8 percent), the Northeast (3.1 percent), and the Midwest (2.1 percent) (Low, 2004; Sanchez et al, 2005). Figure 3 shows that distribution of gated communities by region. Sanchez, Lang, and Dhavale (2005) explain that the regional distribution of gated communities: they are more prevalent in new construction, with significant amounts of new residential developments in the West and South. In Southern California, one-third of all new communities are gated (Low, 2004). By 1999, Phoenix, Arizona had 12 percent of the metro population living in 641 gated communities (Frantz, 2001).

In 2001, the U.S. Census conducted the American Housing Survey (AHS).

Sanchez et al (2005) examined the

information in the AHS to explain the differences between gated homeowners, non-gated homeowners, gated renters, and non-gated renters. Of the 119,116,517 nationwide housing units represented by the AHS, 5.9 percent of the households reported that they lived in communities surrounded by walls or fences and 3.4 percent of the households reported that access to their communities were controlled in some way. Chapman and Lombard (2006) used the AHS conducted in 2003 to explain the difference between fee-based gated communities and non-gated communities. They found that 9.1 percent of the total households live in a fee-based community.

It is important to note that gated communities are not just an American phenomenon. Anecdotal evidence and research from other regions of the world suggest that the global growth in private communities has been influenced by the American experience (Webster et al, 2002). They are appearing in South America, Latin America, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia, the Middle East, and China (Low, 2004; Webster et al, 2002). There have been several reasons reported as to why people choose to live in a gated community, for instance, in South Africa reasons include safety and security, a sense of community and identity, the appeal of shared social values, homogeneity and control, economic control, specific lifestyle, fashion, the efficiency and effectiveness of neighborhood management and governance, and status and prestige (Jurgens and Landman, 2006). These reasons are arguably the same motives as to why Americans choose to ‘fort up’.

Understanding Community

It is important to understand the theories grounding community and the significance of boundaries, social networks and social capital to comprehend why there has been an increase in gated communities. However, defining the term can be a difficult task. Rapport (1996) made the following statement: “The concept of community has been one of the widest and most frequently used in social science...at the same time a precise definition of the term has proved elusive.”

The term *community* comes from the Latin term “*communitatus*”, comprising of three elements: “com-” means with or together, “-munis-” means “the changes or exchanges that link”, and “-tatus” means diminutive, small, intimate, or local. Before 1910, there was little social science literature concerning *community*; C.J. Galpin tried to define the term. His definition of community, found in T. Lynn Smith’s (1941) article, was in relation to delineating rural communities in terms of the trade and service areas surrounding a central village. He stated:

“It is difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the conclusion that the trade zone about one of these rather complete agricultural civic centers forms the boundary of an actual, if not legal, community, within which the apparent entanglement of human life is resolved into a fairly unitary system of interrelatedness.”

Galpin's concept involved both of the senses in which the term *community* derives from the Latin, as it includes social interaction between people who belong together, social institutions, and a local territorial unit. Today the term *community* is much more diverse, as it means different things to different people (see Figure 4 below). It can be approached as a value or it could be used to bring together a number of elements, such as solidarity, commitment, mutuality, and trust. Community can also be approached as a descriptive category, a set of variables, and we now have "virtual" communities of cyberspace where the social and communal relations take place among people who live in different parts of the world but are connected through computer-mediated communication.

"Community is a group of people living in the same defined area sharing the same basic values, organization, and interests."

-Rifkin et al, 1988

"A community is a group of people who are socially interdependent, who participate together in discussion and decision making, and who share certain practices that both define the community and are nurtured by it."

-Robert Bellah author, Habits of the Heart (1996) p. 333

"A community is a group of two or more people who have been able to accept and transcend their differences regardless of the diversity of their backgrounds (social, spiritual, educational, ethnic, economic, and political). This enables them to communicate effectively and openly and to work together toward goals identified as being for their common good."

-*Foundation for Community Encouragement*, 1997

Figure 4. Definition of Community.

As described above, the term community can be described as (1) a geographical territorial unit or (2) as a set of networks among people whom share common interests and interactions. Listed below is a description of each type of community:

- **Place.** A territory (or locality) where people have something in common and this shared element is understood geographically. Several types of boundaries mark the beginning and the end of a community, for example physical boundaries like a river, road, or gate and non-obvious boundaries such as religious or linguistic communities.

- **Interest.** In interest or elective communities, people share a common characteristic other than a place. People may be linked together by factors such as religion, sexual orientation, age group, occupation, recreation, etc.

Both *place* and *interest* may overlap, for example a “mining village”, as this is an area where those who live there may work in the same area. Furthermore, the physical location of a gated community and the golf course inside overlap; those who enjoy golf as interest live in the same area.

Community often implies both similarities and differences. Cohen (1985) explains how members of a community have something in common with each other, and that common feature distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other groups. For instance, people living outside the gates may view a gated community as a ‘community’ because of its boundaries. On the contrary, Lee and Newby (1983) claim that the fact that people live close to one another does not mean that they have much to do with each other. In fact, there might be very little interaction between neighbors. Instead it is the nature of the relationships between people and social networks, or a sense of community and not necessarily the geographic location that is a more significant aspect of *community*.

Sense of Community

What gives a sense of community? McMillan and Chavis (1986) have researched the psychological sense of community and propose that sense of community is composed of four elements: 1) membership, 2) influence, 3) integration and fulfillment of needs, and 4) shared emotional connection. They provide a one-sentence definition: “Sense of community is a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment together” (McMillan and Chavis, 1986).

The first aspect of sense of community is membership in that community. Membership implies the investment that an individual devotes to a particular community and their right of belonging to that community. Members in the group have something in common with each other, and this shared characteristic distinguishes them from people who are not members of that specific group. Influence is the second element. Individuals

influence the community and concurrently the community as a whole influences its individuals. Members feel more satisfied in a community if they have influence over it. Third, the desire to fulfill some perceived *need* is the primary reason why an individual decided to join a community and it is also a strong factor as to why one invests and participates in a community. The word “need” implies more than survival, it includes that which is desired and valued. And last, shared emotional connections, either by a common purpose, similar goal, or a shared history, are critical for developing and maintaining strong communities.

The creation of an enhanced sense of community requires time and energy from its residents and even a gated community cannot force its residents to interact (Walker, 2005). Many factors influence the sense of community, such as how conducive the environment is to interaction and resident motivation. The physical gate, as well as the advertisement of the gated community lifestyle, may give off the persona that the community is perfect and cohesive, however, that may just be an illusion.

For the purpose of this thesis, when the term *community* is used alone it refers to the geographic territory or place and when *community* is used within the content of *sense of community* it refers to social networks, interests, and values.

Social Capital

A more specific aspect of community is in the nature of the relationships between people and the social networks of which they are a part of. Interaction enables people to build strong communities, to commit to each other, and to knit the social fabric. Putnam (2000) introduced the idea of social capital:

Physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, **social capital** refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.

The basic foundation of social capital is the very emphasis on connections over individual actors in a social setting. The essence is that social connections enable people to build communities, commit themselves to each other, and to mesh themselves into a complex social fabric (Moobela, 2003). There has been considerable evidence that communities with

a high level of social capital are more likely to benefit from lower crime figures, better health, higher educational achievement, and better economic growth.

The divide between the rich and poor, different cultural or religious groups has always existed, yet it is the physical barriers, such as gates, that add another step to balkanization and only widens the gap amongst individuals. Moobela (2003) describes how social connectivity naturally evolves among members of the diverse community, whose relationships and first time meetings start from streets, parks, and many other informal areas. This was confirmed in an international case study conducted by Moobela (2003) in Hulme, an inner city area situated south of Manchester, United Kingdom. Respondents to the questionnaire alluded to the fact that their community groupings started as informational arrangements out of casual meetings among strangers of the same area in Hulme.

In America, it has been documented that we are experiencing a decline in social capital and an increase in the privatization of our lifestyles. Accompanied with this decline in social capital are lower levels of trust in government and lower levels of civic participation. Putnam describes how social capital is a key component to building and maintaining democracy. Gated communities respond to the same underlying root issues that generate NIMBYism: concerns about property values, personal safety, and neighborhood amenities (Grant, 2003). These factors are often the key enticements that motivate those to move behind the gates. Grant (2003) explains that when people feel they cannot rely on the government to protect their neighborhoods from unwanted uses or people, that's when people voluntarily move into communities with forced regulations and surround themselves with the "desirables", or people like themselves.

Residents, who opt to move inside the gates, feel that these types of developments are one way to rebuild the sense of community in American cities and suburbs. Social scientists are worried that needs once met by local groups are now more easily resolved by modern technology (i.e., the television, Internet, etc.). Thousands of potential buyers are drawn to gated communities because of the identifiable boundary and the small town life representation. Low (1997) explains how we associate community with images of small-town life because the scale of social relations allows for overlapping networks, enhancing familiarity and contact between neighbors, institutions, service providers, and businesses.

While a decline in social capital may drive people to live in a gated community, searching for the nostalgic idea of community, many social scientists (Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Wilson-Doenges, 2000) agree that gates do not create a better community. In fact, they may even promote privacy within privacy: residents tend to stay in their house or their own back yard and do not visit on porches or front lawns. A study conducted by Blakely and Snyder in 1995 found that there were generally low levels of interaction and community involvement, especially in prestige communities where residents typically has very little time to participate or be neighborly.

The fortress mentality occurs at many different scales. Gates keep people out of the community, and the houses and rooms within them are miniature fortresses (Romig, 2005). Romig (2005) explains how different means of entertainment and media within the home create feelings of isolation and dislocation. Some homes in Glen Oaks are equipped with amenities such as a hobby or dark room, theatre room, wet bar, etc. Romig claims that separating spaces within the house fosters separation within the family unit, which in turn adds to the decline in social capital. It should be noted that homes in non-gated subdivisions may contain entertainment amenities; this is not only a gated community phenomenon.

Characteristics of Gated Communities

Gated communities are typically developed in the suburbs of cities. People living in a gated community are predominately Caucasian, upper-middle class, earn \$60,000 to \$200,000 a year, and hold executive positions and have professional responsibilities (Harris et al, 1997). Gated communities tend to be like other suburban developments: the garage is attached to the house and is in front of the house (as opposed to detached and behind the house in the alley), they have big lawns, the automobile is the dominant mode of transportation, the homes do not face each other and the street pattern favors a disconnected street design: a loop and lollipop formation (i.e. circular road network with many dead-ends or cul-de-sacs). Gated communities are usually classified as a single-use zone (i.e. residential). Critics argue that putting everyday uses out of walking distance of each other leads to an increase in traffic since people have to use their vehicles to meet their needs throughout the day. In addition, the gate creates a physical barrier to access, restricting

pedestrians, bicyclists, and automobiles. The emphasis lies on the private sphere; attention is paid only to that specific gated community, while the greater community and the general public are neglected. The gated community's form of government is privatized, often regulated by a homeowners association.

Low's (2006) findings in a study display the same characteristics found above. From 1994 to 1995, Low studied seven gated communities located both in Long Island, New York and San Antonio, Texas. The study revealed that six out of the seven communities were located in the suburbs or at the edge of the central city. Low also found that the gated communities shared a number of suburban demographic characteristics including lower population density, lower crime rates, higher percentage of middle-class and upper middle-class professionals, and better schools and services, and are disproportionately white or European when compared to adjoining areas (Low, 2006).

Trends: What Drives the Spread of Gated Communities?

Developers, landowners, investors, local municipalities, and consumers have together shaped a new genre of [post] modern urban habitat (Webster et al, 2002). The gated community phenomenon is driven by the motivations of developers and local governments on the supply side and the desires of consumers on the demand side. McKenzie (2006) anticipates a rise in gated communities in the United States because of the structural forces that favor the trend: rising land costs, decreasing local government fiscal capacity to accommodate growth, and consumer preferences for security and neighborhood control. McKenzie (2003a) suggests that developers and local governments are primarily responsible for the rapid spread of gated communities.

McKenzie (2003a) explains how gated communities are prevalent where land costs are high; developers have found that gated communities allow them to build higher-density developments, and by sharing common spaces, swimming pools, and other amenities, developers can put more people on less land and also provide these amenities to buyers to compensate for small lots. In addition, private streets can be narrower than public ones, leaving more land for lots and common spaces, further lowering development costs. For

these reasons, gated communities enable developers to maintain profits and keep prices relatively affordable despite rising land prices.

Local governments seek growth and increased tax revenues and the development of gated communities are one way for a city to grow, economically and physically, with minimal public expenditure. Gated communities privatize what would be government responsibilities: the cost of the gate, amenities, infrastructure, and services are paid for by the private developer and the final homebuyer (Le Goix, 2003; Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Municipalities have the authority to approve or disapprove gated developments, but it is the private developer who takes the initiative to generate the proposals, raise the capital and carry out the projects (McKenzie, 2006).

In addition to the supply side, there has been an increase in the demand for gated communities. When developers promote the gates, they refer to safety, reduced traffic and noise, children playing, a feeling or sense of community, a friendly place where neighbors are like themselves, where they feel like home, and are more economically stable than traditional urban neighborhoods (Low, 2004; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Community is such a vague term full of moral connotations, nostalgia, and romanticism (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), but has been appropriated and commodified by large-scale developers who are always in search of marketing angles to sell houses quickly (Romig, 2005). Middle- to upper-class residents are catering to the developers by purchasing homes in gated communities for reasons such as safety and security, homogeneity and control, status and prestige, sense of community, and the effectiveness of neighborhood governance. Consumers are drawn to gated communities for the desire of amenities (i.e. pool, golf, trails, security, and sense of community) that local governments often cannot provide. Thus, gated communities have become an excellent marketing tool for developers.

Typology of Gated Communities

Because of the several different reasons for gated communities (i.e., security, maintaining or a rising property value, people wanting to live in a homogenous area), Blakely and Snyder identified three main types of gated communities found in the United States: lifestyle communities, prestige communities, and security zone communities. The typology

illustrates how diverse the gated community movement has become (Lang and Danielsen, 1997). Each type is categorized by income level, amenities, aesthetic control, and location in the region, yet each community serves the same basic service, to keep unwanted individuals out. A real gated community will not fit specifically into one type, but often exhibits characteristics from more than one type (Blakely and Snyder, 1999). Below in Table 1 are the characteristics found in each typology of gated community.

Table 1. Gated Community Typology	
Lifestyle Community	Attracts people who want separate, private services and amenities, and seeking a homogenous, predictable environment.
Prestige Community	Typically for those who want a stable neighborhood where property values are protected.
Security Zone Community	For residents who are trying to strengthen and protect their community. Their goal is to exclude people that threaten their safety and quality of life.

Lifestyle communities, including retirement and golf and country club developments, were the first type of gated community to appear in the United States. They are characterized by having gates that provide security and separation for the leisure activities and amenities offered within (Blakely and Snyder, 1999). Three subcategories of the lifestyle community include: the retirement community; the golf and leisure community; and the suburban new town. Le Goix (2006) explains how gated communities today are mainly suburban neighborhoods distinguished not by their grand designs, but by their emphasis on *community lifestyle* and security features. In the lifestyle community, the sense of community is based on common interests and income levels (Romig, 2005). Behind the gates, the streets, property, amenities, and lifestyle are all meant to be private.

Prestige communities, also known as the elite community, are the fastest growing type of gated community in the United States (Blakely and Snyder, 1999). They lack leisure activities and amenities, but offer protection for the wealthy and “executive community” developments. The motivations for the gate in a prestige community is to project an image, protect current investments, and control housing values. The common interest found in the prestige community is status, stability, and the need for homogeneity. Security is another major concern due to the resident’s status within the community.

The motive for **security zone communities** is the fear of crime and outsiders (Blakely and Snyder label these “enclaves of fear”). This type of community includes three subcategories: the city perch, the suburban perch, and the barricade perch. Blakely and Snyder refer to these as “perches” because it is the residents who build the gates, not the developer. Individuals separate themselves from the rest of society in an attempt to build and strengthen the feeling and function of community in their neighborhood and this occurs at all income levels and in all areas.

Creators of the city perch want to protect themselves from urban disorder, crime, and traffic. The suburban perch is a growing phenomenon. Suburban, to some, no longer means safe, beautiful, or ideal (Romig, 2005) and problems witnessed in the city core have started to occur in inner-ring suburbs and small towns. Similar to the city perch, suburban perches aim to protect themselves from crime and traffic, home security, and child protection. Barricade perches, which are the fastest-growing type of security-zone community, are not completely fenced and all entrances are not secured with gates. The barricades are used to close off streets and are intentionally designed to restrict access to normally public spaces.

The American Golf Community

DeChaine (2001) conducted a study about the Web-based promotional discourse of the American golf community in an effort to highlight the intimate relationship between physical and social space. He explains how the golf course itself plays an important role in the American golf community developers’ rhetoric. It is often the focal point of the community, and is consistently featured on Web sites as prominent feature of the topography. In addition to the prominence of the golf course as a symbolic focus for the community, the status of the course designer is of paramount importance. DeChaine explains how virtually all Web pages that feature golf courses as a central component of the community highlight the reputation and/or the celebrity designer: recurrent names include Jack Nicklaus and Tom Fazio. It is important to note that Tom Fazio designed the Glen Oaks golf course. In addition, DeChaine explains how many golf communities boast the hosting of national professional golf tournaments, exhibitions, and/or charity functions. The Glen Oaks Country Club hosted the Allianz Championship from 2001 to 2004, and again in 2006.

DeChaine discusses how golf communities boast about the natural beauty of the course as well, for example, the Glen Oaks County Club website describes how “the course features bent grass, greens and fairways with blue grass roughs. Fescue grass, which is inherent to the area and is found on many courses in Scotland, grows wild in several areas throughout the course.” Also, course descriptions typically highlight amenities available to golf enthusiasts, “Glen Oaks is designed for the pleasure and enjoyment of golfers at any skill from novice to the very advanced.”

From his research, DeChaine claims that golf communities represent a unique ‘rearticulation’ of the traditional enclave, insofar as they are reflected in online promotional discourse, signify geocultural spaces of security, seclusion, sanctuary, and control. Golf community websites market their community as a secure community environment, as a space of shelter or sanctuary, set away and apart from the chaos of the modern city. Glen Oaks County Club advertises their club as an “English design that exudes warmth and charm, with brass chandeliers, stone fireplaces, oaks accents, and elegant furniture.” Glen Oaks Residential Community is located in a busy area, near Interstate 35 and a booming commercial district, however when you are inside the gates, the community conveys a country lifestyle. From the description above and other golf communities, it is clear that space, aesthetics, architectural, and environmental control, privacy, and mobility area all valued attributes of the *golf community-as-enclave*, a term coined by DeChaine.

DeChaine concludes by saying that golf communities are all about artifice: artificial greens, artificial grading, artificial landscaping, artificial irrigation, and construction. He states that wide-open space (i.e. the golf course) and secure surveyed territory (i.e. the gate and guard house) create a tension: this tension is closely associated with the simultaneous dialectics of freedom versus control and publicity versus privacy. The view connotes freedom and mobility, but at the same time, the landscape is bounded and there is an apparent inside and outside to this privileged community space. DeChaine emphasizes that there are clearly insiders who may enjoy it and outsiders who may not.

Residents' Motivations to Move into a Gated Community

What is the motivation behind wanting to live in a gated community? There is not one reason, but rather many. The Fannie Mae Foundation sponsored a panel discussion at the 1997 Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning to explore key issues concerning gated communities. The session gathered leading experts on the topic, including Edward Blakely, Mary Gail Snyder, Gary Pivo, and David Prosperi. A key finding is that many people choose to reside in gated communities because they believe that such places reduce risk, ranging from the mundane (e.g. unwanted social exchange) to the high stakes (e.g. declining property values), as well as crime and security issues (Lang and Danielsen, 1997; Glasze et al, 2006). The fear of crime is one of the primary motivations for people moving into gated communities (Lang and Danielsen, 1997). Other motivations include a desire for exclusivity or privacy, leisure facilities, private services, less traffic, and an enhanced sense of community.

In 1995, Blakely and Snyder conducted a study about residents' motivations for moving into a gated community. Their location of study mainly focused on the Sun Belt cities: San Francisco Bay area; Los Angeles; Palm Springs, California; Orange County, California; Dallas, Texas; and Miami, Florida. From their study, they found that security and fear of crime are the overriding factors motivating people to move into a gated community. The study revealed that gates added a level of satisfaction, yet residents remained concerned about crime and traffic as gates did not appear to have an impact upon keeping criminals out. What they also found is that depending on the type of gated community (lifestyle, prestige, security-zone), other factors may limit the importance of security. For instance, in a prestige gated community, setting and traffic calming were identified among a number of factors that motivated people to move in.

An escape from through-traffic and noise generated from vehicles are among the reasons why residents choose to move into a gated community. Residents typically dislike the noise and disruption of through-traffic and they see the gates as a traffic calming mechanism so they can worry less while their children play in the streets. In 1991, a group called Citizens Against Gated Enclaves (CAGE) sued the City of Los Angeles for allowing residents of Whitley Heights, a prominent gated community in California, to gate public

streets to outsiders as a traffic control measure. In 1993, The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, and found the gates illegal because the local fire department never approved the gate plan and Whitley Heights had to keep their gates open. The superior court judge stated, “The city owes a duty to the public not to allow gates on public streets” (Dillon, 1994). The ruling was upheld on appeal, throwing the City’s approximately 200 pending applications for gates into legal limbo. Replication of this result could be avoided if a city were able to show that a street is no longer needed by the public, and could therefore be gated (Blandy et al, 2003).

Another factor that motivates residents to ‘fort up’ is to protect the value of their home. Homeowners associations, through their extensive and enforceable covenants, aim to secure property values by excluding certain activities and land uses. Since gates provide the perception of security, safety, and privacy, it means exclusivity and increased property values. Adding an entry gate system can add value to single-family home regardless of whether it has any effect on crime. This was confirmed in a case study conducted by Bible and Hsieh. In 2001, Bible and Hsieh looked at 284 separate home sales between October 1996 and March 1998 in four gated and two non-gated communities in the same metropolitan area in the United States. Variables included age and size of the home, number of months on the market before sale, plot size, tax rate, average household income for the neighborhood, and whether or not the house was in a gated community. All neighborhoods had relatively low crime rates and none had leisure amenities. Bible and Hsieh concluded that homes in the gated communities had added value, on average 6.07 percent above price of comparable properties not in gated communities (Bible and Hsieh, 2001).

Explaining Residential Satisfaction

There are several attributes that are associated with neighborhood satisfaction, comprising of two categories: individual household characteristics and neighborhood quality characteristics (Basolo and Strong, 2002). Individual household characteristics are associated with age, race, education, gender and marital status of household head, household income, presence of children, length of tenure in housing unit, and tenure status.

Neighborhood quality characteristics have been defined in terms of the following four dimensions (Connerly and Marans, 1988):

1. The physical environment
2. Access to various activity nodes
3. Access to local services and facilities
4. The neighborhood's socio-cultural setting

In terms of residential satisfaction, Lu (1999) claimed that older residents and Whites had a higher level of satisfaction, and gender was not a significant variable in neighborhood satisfaction. Educated households with higher incomes, and married couples with children all report higher levels of residential satisfaction. Homeowners are typically more satisfied with their neighborhood compared to renters. Homeowners tend to look after their house and yard better since they are living there long-term, whereas renters do not often put in the effort to upkeep their house since it is not permanent.

Community variables such as crime, neighbors, schools, transportation, and lighting are neighborhood quality characteristics that are associated with neighborhood satisfaction. In the analysis of the 1997 – 1998 Survey of English Housing, Parks, Kearns, and Atkinson (2002) found that safety of the respondents in their homes and neighborhood friendliness were seen as the most important attributes of neighborhood satisfaction.

Background on Homeowners Associations

One of the most important features of a gated community is not the gate, but the private “quasi-government” that it requires. Gated communities are often run by self-governing homeowners associations, which are meant to influence the appearance, population, and social character of the community, enabling the community to maintain its property value (Romig, 2005). The homeowners associations is an organization comprised of all owners of units in the development. The vast majorities of them are incorporated and are governed by a board, which is a private government. Also called ‘property owners association’, ‘community association’, ‘civic association’, ‘property board’, or ‘property

committee', homeowners associations are the most widespread privatization of local government services in American history (McKenzie, 2003b).

About one in six Americans, or roughly 50 million³ residents, lives in a community governed by a homeowners association (Rich, 2003). An estimated four out of five houses built since the late 1990s are governed by a homeowners association (Max, 2004). These types of communities have grown since the 1970s, as local municipalities were facing budget shortfalls, requiring developers to pay for services such as street repair and trash removal (Degregorio, 2006). Lending Tree, an online lending and reality service, advertises homeowners associations as a way to provide lifestyle by sharing amenities such as privately owned streets, pools, parking, and utilities that do not demand the oversight of local authorities. Table 2 below shows the growth of association-governed communities since 1970.

Table 2. Estimated Number of Association-Governed Communities			
Year	Communities	Housing Units	Residents
1970	10,000	701,000	2.1 million
1980	36,000	3.6 million	9.6 million
1990	130,000	11.6 million	29.6 million
2000	222,500	17.8 million	45.2 million
2002	240,000	19.2 million	48.0 million
2004	260,000	20.8 million	51.8 million
2005	274,000	22.1 million	54.6 million
Source: Community Association Institute			

Association-governed communities include homeowners associations, condominiums, cooperatives, and other planned communities. Zogby International conducted a nationally representative study of community association residents in 2005. The survey was sponsored by the Foundation for Community Association Research, a non-profit organization created in 1975 by Community Associations Institute. They found that 71 percent rate their overall community association experience as positive, while 10 percent expressed discontent (Community Association Institute, 2006).

Typically, homeowners associations have three main governing documents: articles of incorporation, covenants, conditions, and restrictions (CC&Rs), and bylaws. The *articles*

³ This number includes people living in co-op buildings in New York City to families living in suburban subdivisions.

of incorporation set out the powers and duties of the organization. The *CC&Rs* are the most important document; they set the rules regarding common property and individual homes in the development. The *CC&Rs* are the main tool by which developers carve in stone their plan for the project, providing for it to look the same forever (McKenzie, 2006).

Homeowners associations typically have a third document called the *bylaws* that will contain details about elections and many other procedural matters. In addition, there may also be a set of architectural restrictions and guidelines, pool or golf course rules, parking regulations, etc.

Dues are collected from the residents, which can be anything from \$100 to \$10,000 a year, to pay for maintenance of roads and landscaping (Max, 2004). Gated communities maintain property values through the covenants restricting architectural alterations and use of the property, and by excluding undesirable neighbors and controlling nuisances. The boards, composed of elected volunteers, can fine residents who break the rules and, in some cases, foreclose on homeowners who cannot afford the monthly dues. Listed below are six typical regulatory controls that homeowners associations enforce on its members and some issues created because of such regulations:

1. **Fees and assessments:** Generally, homeowners associations levy mandatory monthly fees to maintain common property, such as lawns, swimming pools, hiking trails, golf courses, tennis courts, or lakeside docks. Fees may increase as expenses rise and special assessments may also be imposed for major costs such as a new roof for a community sports center or private street repair.
2. **Maintenance:** Included in the homeowner's association fee is a maintenance charge. However, once a developer's responsibility has expired, the owners have to pay for repairs when things start to break down.
3. **Liens and foreclosures:** If an individual fails to pay association dues, that person can be charged a fine. A lien can even be imposed on the property resulting in potential foreclosure, sometimes over trivial amounts. If an individual disputes the charges in court and loses, he/she may also have to pay the association's legal fees.
4. **Governance:** Most homeowner association board members are volunteers elected by the property owners. Sometimes inexperience can cause mistakes, resulting in

- additional expenses. Often, more than 50 percent of the dues collected by an association are used to pay for the management companies and attorneys it employs.
5. **Regulations:** Together with their management partners, homeowners associations function very much as private governments. Once property owners sign a contract agreeing to comply with an association's laws, it often replaces their individual property rights.
 6. **Membership:** Membership in a homeowners association may be voluntary or mandatory. Some voluntary associations attempt to become mandatory by implying new deed restrictions have been adopted. However, deeds cannot be amended without the express agreement of owners.

Homeowners associations, which Garreau (1991) defines as shadow governments, have become the most numerous, ubiquitous, and largest form of local government in the United States today. Garreau explains that shadow governments have more power than local governments because not only do they regulate the exterior properties of the home, they can even regulate the color of a person's living room curtains. Activities of homeowners associations are not restricted by the need to comply with the Bill of Rights because the law does not view them as governments, despite the fact that they do most of the things local governments do, therefore they are not restricted by conventional notions of civil liberties and due process of law, and their activities are supported by lawyers, property managers, accountants, and others (McKenzie, 2003b). Garreau (1991) describes how homeowners associations act like governments:

- **The power to tax:** they can assess mandatory fees to support themselves
- **The power to legislate:** they can create rules and regulations
- **The police power:** they have the power to coerce, to force people to change their behavior

These shadow governments collect assessments, hire police, maintain streets and parks, and enforce design guidelines covering everything from the square footage of houses to the color of mailboxes. Dillon (1994) explains how in states like Texas where zoning is nominal, the

associations draw up ordinances and in larger associations in Maryland are authorized to issue bonds.

There are legal limits on the nature and extent of homeowners associations. Unreasonable denial of building permits can be deemed a ‘taking’ of private property. The Fifth Amendment of the United States Constitution states, ‘nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation’. McKenzie (2006) states how excessive regulation that deprives an owner of all the economic value of the property can be deemed a taking.

McKenzie (2006) reviews the rise of private “quasi-governments”. The growth of homeowners associations has created “a whole sector of people who don’t use public services,” said McKenzie. Homeowners who live in such communities do not need local governments, and instead the role of the private sector has increased. However, local governments typically favor developments that incorporate homeowner associations because the developer pays for new streets, sewers, and other infrastructure, and then passes the cost on to the home purchasers (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Even when a homeowners association is absent in a gated community, the cost of the street and other infrastructure is passed from the developer to the homebuyer in the sale of the home. Therefore, maintenance costs are privatized and removed from the city budget.

The developer eventually hands over control of the association to the lots owners. McKenzie (2006) describes this as a critical moment in history of any association and is often the start of a time of trouble. The new “owners” receive the financial records and structural conditions of the development. If there are defects in the original construction (i.e. leaky roofs), there may be conflict with the developer over demands to fix the defects. In addition, management issues may arise. The committee members may change the CC&Rs of the community, causing conflict between the new directors and the owners who are accustomed to the developer’s CC&Rs.

McKenzie (2004) explains how homeowner associations are a “cash cow” for local governments. As discussed earlier, the homeowner association does the city government’s job, and the city collects the same amount of tax dollars from the new owners without having to build the infrastructure or provided services. However, problems arise when the

association falls apart or when owners start complaining about strict codes and foreclosure. If a homeowners association falls apart, it is the local government that has to take over the maintenance of the common space and enforce codes and restrictions. This may find the local government caught between two opposing sides, the homeowners and the association.

Design Issues and Social Implications

By their nature, gated communities are separate and enclosed areas isolated from the broader urban environment. The academic planning literature that deals with gating is mostly negative. Gated enclaves are described as landscapes of fear and privilege (Low, 2001; Marcuse, 1997; Wilson-Doenges, 2000) and are a response to the failure of government to ensure adequate security (Blandy et al, 2003). Whether the purpose is to enable a specific lifestyle within the enclosed area or to protect the residents from possible intruders, gated communities reflect an urban entity that is physically and often socially and economically differentiated from the surrounding urban environment (Landman, 2000).

Gated communities are criticized as being insular, exclusive, reactionary, and socially isolating, contradicting the professional planning principles of openness, access, street connectivity, diversity, mixed use, housing choice, and equity. On the contrary, those selling and buying homes in gated developments promote landscapes of privacy, security, companionship, and community (Grant, 2004), and this is exactly what the homebuyers want. While some may criticize them, gated communities continue to be a great success in the United States and are starting to become popular in Iowa.

Tensions Created in Gated Community Life

Blakely and Snyder (1997) identify three “tensions” created in gated community life: (1) between exclusionary aspirations rooted in fear and protection of privilege and the values of civic responsibility; (2) between the trend toward privatization of public services and the idea of the public good and general welfare; and (3) between the need for personal and community control of the environment and the dangers of making outsiders of fellow citizens (Lang and Danielsen, 1997). Another tension that Landman (2000) identifies is between the

impact on the long-term sustainability of cities and the lack of diversity, transportation systems, and social inclusion. All four tensions are explained in greater context below.

Exclusion and Segregation

The factors that make gated communities strong marketing devices (i.e., sense of community, social homogeneity) create challenges to contemporary planning values (Grant, 2004). There is continuing concern about the segregation effects of gated communities. Diversity is a key principle of planning. Diversity can be defined as understanding and valuing the characteristics and beliefs of those of different ethnic and racial backgrounds, age, physical abilities, family status, lifestyle preferences, socioeconomic status, religious and spiritual values, and geographic location. Gated communities fail to be diverse because they segregate by use, by class, and often by age. A study conducted by Duncan (2004) evaluated the degree to which gated communities in California were promoting segregation or sorting people into homogenous groups. The study found that residents of gated communities are on average white, older, better educated, and earns higher incomes. Duncan concludes that gated communities are contributing only a small percentage of the overall level of segregation in California, however, he states “it is conceivable that as these communities proliferate, they could exert a greater effect on residential segregation over time” (Duncan, 2004).

Blakely and Snyder (1999) explain how gated communities create physical barriers to access: they privatize community space, not only individual space. Kohn (2004) expresses how privatization (i.e. gated communities) separates citizens from one another and decreases the opportunities for recognizing commonalities and accepting differences; social connectivity naturally evolves among members of a diverse community, whose relationships form in public spaces. The gates function as a symbol of the inequalities between the power that controls the gates and those excluded by them (Marcuse, 1997). The walls, constructed in concrete, bricks, or fencing, make visible the system of exclusion.

In the late 1990s, Low (1997) conducted an anthropological study in two gated communities, one in San Antonio, Texas, and the other in Queens, New York. Her findings imply that many residents living in the gates fear non-specified others, and this was the main

reason they moved into a gated community. Low also explained how children might suffer from the effect of living in such a segregated and protected environment. For example, one interviewee explained her daughter's fear of Mexicans as resulting from a lack of exposure to them. The fear and misunderstanding that accompanies segregation is amplified by no social contact (Walker, 2005), thus a social cost of exclusion is created. Since the number of public spaces that all can share are minimized, there is a disruption between the contacts that people make from different socioeconomic groups.

Segregation is usually thought of in terms of race, but it is also economic. Communities can exclude individuals based on income levels. Blakely and Snyder (2002) explain how private communities provide their own security, street maintenance, parks, recreation, garbage collection, and other services, leaving people who cannot afford to live behind gates dependent on the reduced services of city and county governments. Some of the homes are so outrageously priced, only the "well-to-do" can afford to buy into one. Robert Reich, Clinton Administration Labor Secretary, describes the rising number of gated communities constitutes "the secession of the successful" from the civic life of the broader society (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). Segregation, whatever its kind, has a variety of negative impacts. It creates reduced opportunities for people who cannot afford to live in a gated community, concentrates deprivation in other areas of the community (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), and decreases social contact amongst citizens and cultural groups.

Now we are beginning to see an increase in exclusionary amenities, for example golf communities. Strahilevitz (2005), Assistant Professor in the Law School at the University of Chicago, states that "the practice of building golf courses into residential communities surged in the 1990s, and by 2000, such developments accounted for 40 percent of all golf courses." Strahilevitz explains how golf, for the most part, is one of the most racially homogenous sports, and carries with it the legacy of "whites only" country clubs from the pre-integration era. He further contends that exclusionary amenities are selected on the basis of how effectively they cause self-sorting by desirable and undesirable residents (Strahilevitz, 2005).

Privatization and Public Space

Gated communities are manifestations of the desire to turn public space into private space (Kohn, 2004), a process called privatization. Privatization occurs when public property is gradually replaced by private ownership and/or the management of a service or activity is transferred from the government to the private sector. Gated communities are one of the many ways that American public space is being privatized, for instance shopping malls and theme parks have replaced public spaces such as town squares or main streets. Homeowner associations are yet another example of privatization; the municipality is replaced with private residential governments. Each privatization effort demonstrates a fear of crime in American cities and suburbs and has turned the city inward (Davis, 1990), as well as the growing skepticism about the government's ability to police streets, stabilize neighborhoods and property values, and generally looking after the public realm (Dillon, 1994).

In addition, when private spaces replace public gathering places, the opportunities for political conversation diminish. Kohn (2004) argues that access to public space is important because forums are used to communicate ideas through techniques such as street speaking, demonstrations, picketing, leafleting, and petitioning. One could say that television, newspapers, and direct mail deliver information to citizens, however, it is not the same face-to-face politics that takes place in public spaces as individuals cannot talk back to a television nor ask a question. Public spaces are the last domains where the opportunity to communicate is not something bought and sold (Kohn, 2004).

Neotraditionalism, also known as the New Urbanism, has pointed out the many ways that gated communities are flawed. To many proponents of New Urbanism, gated communities are the antithesis of their vision. The principles of New Urbanism range from a single building to an entire community, and strive to build communities that are public, interconnected, promote mixed-use developments with a range of housing types, has a network of mass transportation and pedestrian-friendly designs, and is sustainable over time. Peter Calthorpe, a new urbanist advocate, claims that gated communities are manifestations of the growing imbalance between public and private space in American cities and suburbs:

The gated community is perhaps the most blatant and literal expression of the trend [toward increased private space and the disappearance of public

space]. Physically it denotes the separation, and sadly the fear, that has become the subtext of a country once founded on differences and tolerance. Politically it expresses the desire to privatize, cutting back the responsibilities of government to provide services for all and replacing it with private and focused institutions: private schools, private recreation, private parks, private roads, even quasi-private governments. Socially, the house fortress represents a self-fulfilling prophecy. The more isolated people become and the less they share with others unlike themselves, the more they do have to fear. To this extent privatization is a powerful force in the marketplace that directs the home building industry and our land use patterns (Calthorpe, 1993).

The key-differentiating element to be used in understanding the potential relationship between New Urbanism and the neighborhood sense of community is the emphasis on public space. Residential interaction is promoted by having more venues for social contact. In other words, interaction enables people to build communities, to commit themselves to each other, and to “knit the social fabric” (Beem, 1999). Gary Pivo, an urban planning professor at the University of Arizona, argues that when people or entire communities turn inward, it forces people to lose a sense of responsibility to their city or region (Lang and Danielsen, 1997), which in the long run threatens American values of democracy, diversity, class, mobility, and racial integration (Low, 2001).

Control

The actual crime rate and the residents’ perceptions of safety, referred to as fear of crime, are often two different concepts (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). The overall crime rate has been decreasing nationally since the early 1990s (FBI, Department of Justice, 2003), however the fear of crime is increasing (see Appendix A). As crime rates are decreasing, we are seeing a dramatic increase in the number of gated communities in the United States; they are part of the trend toward exercising physical and social means of territorial control, which is a feature of post modernism. It is important to identify that the fear of crime is more widespread than actual crime and it has real consequences just as actual crime does (Wilson-Doenges, 2000). Fear can affect the quality of life over a long period of time, leading to social polarization and distrust among others. Blakely and Snyder have recorded many statistics of crime rates in gated communities. They have come to the conclusion that:

The real threat of crime, or the real threat from traffic, bears no necessary relationship to the fear of crime. In places with high crime rates, places with low crime rates, places where crime is rising, and places where crime is dropping, fear can spur the gating of neighborhoods that were once open to their surrounding (Blakely and Snyder, 1997 pg 101).

Because of the increase in the fear of crime, residents want to control access to their neighborhood and want to secure the provision of their own choice of civic services (Blakely and Snyder, 1999; Wilson-Doenges, 2000). However, the gated community lifestyle is not always that easy to control. The residents often sign an agreement about the terms and conditions of living within the community, and this means that residents not only agree to the management structure of the community, but their behavior is controlled as well. Most gated communities have rules about architectural styles, the color of their house, as well as the number of cars allowed in their driveway. The obvious downside is that some may find these regulations too controlling, especially when they are trying to control their residential environment with the gates.

McKenzie (2006) explains how citizens are becoming dissatisfied with the services of the public municipal government, which explains the rise in homeowner associations, Neighborhood Watch, NIMBY movements, and neighborhood groups. Residents often feel that security measures and private government are the best way to achieve control over their neighborhood and better serves the demands of a community. Blakely and Snyder (1999) identify how many residents living behind the gates hope that the closed, private streets will lead to a more open, friendly, and cohesive community.

Are gates better security measures and do they really keep crime rates down? Although gates control traffic, solicitors, and others from entering, some research has suggested that there is no decrease in actual crime rates. Randy Atlas (1999) evaluated crime patterns in four gated communities located in Keystone Point, North Miami, Florida. This is a middle- to upper-middle class residential area comprised of six islands, and has three land entrances. Atlas analyzed crime data for the area from 1990 to 1997. What he found was a wave pattern of crime: spikes of increased crime and then a succeeding decrease. Atlas concluded that the gates do not make a significant difference in the increase or decrease of crime or the deterrence of criminals.

Many people believe that the residents of gated communities are living with a false sense of security. To many it is viewed as a trend for developers marketing a “safe” community. In reality, the codes to unmanned gates are also given out to numerous people who do not live in the community, such as pizza delivery persons, taxi drivers, friends of residents, those friends of friends, etc. What changes is perception: people feel safer behind gates, although at the same time their fear of the outside world increases. The key is that those living behind gates become detached from mainstream society, not only physically but politically (Kohn, 2004).

Sustainability

Gating is clearly profitable, but is it sustainable? Gated communities could have a dramatic impact on the long-term sustainability of cities. The United Nations Habitat’s Program for Sustainable Cities (1996) defines a sustainable city as, “A city where achievements in social, economic and physical development are made to last.”

A sustainable city strives for the following: economic development, environmental protection, and social equity. Sustainability is an important aspect of a city’s quality of life and community welfare. A sustainable city will provide residents with a safe and equitable environment that is well managed and community growth that occurs is regulated in an orderly and environmentally safe manner.

Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain that sustainable communities bring together concern for the environment, social justice, as well as the *public* and *private life*. A sustainable community strives for interaction and integration amongst members of the community and the features of the community are available to all, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or social class.

To be more specific, for a city to be sustainable the city should serve the common good, be self-renewing, and should build local assets and be self-reliant. The community is responsible for protecting the built and natural environment. The gated community does not meet this standard because it does not serve the collective good and instead only focuses on a select few, the people who live inside the gates.

In addition, gated communities affect the natural environment; they are often developed in the suburbs of the city, which influences greater use of the personal automobile and in the long-term promotes urban sprawl. The negative effects of urban sprawl include, but are not limited to: consumption of land, higher costs of new neighborhood infrastructures, higher costs of public services and transport services, land use patterns which are unfavorable to the development of collective and other sustainable transport modes, increased use of the personal automobile, increased trip lengths, congestion, increased fuel consumption, increase in air pollution, contribution to the decay of downtown areas, social segregation and reduction of social interaction, etc. Gated communities help contribute to the negative consequences of urban sprawl, harming the environment and deconstructing social interaction, and this is detrimental to urban sustainability.

Like other conventional subdivisions, the gated community promotes the increased use of the automobile. The circular boundary usually has one or two access points; there is no longer a direct route from the center of the gated community to retail or commercial areas. The development itself is single-use as there are no stores integrated into it for anyone to be able to walk to in the first place. In addition, public transportation is disrupted; for public transportation to be efficient there needs to be connected roads and frequent bus stops. However, gated communities cause an increase in the distance between bus stops since buses cannot travel through the development, and bus routes meander around the gates adding to the travel time. Thus, public transport is less popular and less practical, all while making the city less sustainable for future generations. The inaccessibility to areas outside the gates combined with the lack of public transport means the residents living inside and outside of the gated community become more dependent on the automobile and less likely to walk, which negatively affects the health of residents and the efficiency of travel in the community.

A sustainable community is one that strives for social equity in the distribution of benefits and costs, with special emphasis on the needs of low-income groups. Social inequality is both the *cause of* and *caused by* the rise of gated communities. Developers of gated communities often do not provide a range of housing prices; therefore, wealthy and middle-class individuals dominate the gated community lifestyle, prohibiting lower-income

families to afford to live in such areas. This divide may create a city of ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’, creating a society with severe tensions.

The following six key issues suggest the long-term impact that gated communities will have on urban development (Landman, 2000).

- 1) **A sense of community:** The drive to enclose neighborhoods is causing increased conflict between residents living inside and outside of the gates, creating an atmosphere of tension and hostility. A reduced sense of community, coupled with increased conflict, can lead to negative relations between neighbors.
 - 2) **Safety and security:** Blocking off through traffic creates complications for emergency vehicles and police cars. The shortest route to a specific point in need of attention is blocked or gated and this forces police and/or ambulances to take a more circuitous route. One of the requirements of a sustainable urban economy is public safety for all.
 - 3) **Social exclusion:** Blakely and Snyder describe how gates and walls not only exclude the undesirables, but they also exclude potentially good behavior: casual passers-by, those people from surrounding neighborhoods, girl scouts selling cookies, political candidates, trick-or-treaters, etc. Gated communities create a barrier to interaction and are detrimental to long-term sustainability and political stability.
 - 4) **Urban fragmentation and separation:** Gated communities physically separate a specific area from its environment and create zones of restricted access within the urban fabric. Public transportation is an important element of a sustainable city, however the enclaves of restricted access decreases opportunities for sustainable public transport systems.
 - 5) **Urban planning and management:** Gated communities affect the nature of roads and traffic congestion and general urban maintenance. The closure of existing roads leads to changes in traffic patterns, resulting in longer routes and traffic congestion. In addition, many of the roads were not designed to accommodate increased traffic, thus causing problems in terms of maintenance and long-term planning.
- Homeowners associations create complications in terms of the powers allocated to the association. They are a power lobbying force, can resist taxation, and they can refuse

to accept any major spending for citywide initiatives that they may not directly benefit from.

- 6) **Financial implications:** Private governance could have a significant impact on a sustainable urban economy, including the distribution of resources, shared public facilities, and amenities. Another financial implication concerns the costs involved in the establishment and maintenance of gated communities. In addition to application fees and the costs of physical infrastructure, residents are liable to pay ongoing running costs for the management and maintenance of the community. Association fees could result in a burden to those residents with lower incomes, negatively impacting the economy, urban society, and urban democracy.

Sustainability is concerned with the city as a whole, focusing on the present to prepare cities for the future. Urban sustainability calls for a holistic and integrated approach towards city-making, considering not only the parts, but emphasizing their relationship to each other and importantly the sum total of the parts (Landman, 2000).

Legal Implications

Damstra (2001) examines the powers of municipal governments in the United States to restrict the development of gated communities. As discussed earlier in *CAGE vs. Whitley Heights Civic Association*, some city councils have already banned the gating of existing streets. Damstra claims that councils also have the power to require no gates as a condition of planning approval for new developments, on the grounds that this would prevent social harms associated with gated communities. Local governments have the power to protect a citizen's police power, which is to preserve the public health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the people. Two towns in North Carolina, Caro and Carrboro, enacted ordinances banning gated communities because they restrict access for emergency vehicles and are exclusionary. There is not a uniform standard for regulating gated communities, but there is some precedent for utilizing planning regulatory tools to restrict them (Gooblar, 2002).

When discussing the legal governance of gated communities, more times than not, people moving into the community do not know what the CC&Rs are; disputes over covenant enforcement are common. A survey conducted by Barton et al in 1989 found that 84 percent of home purchasers did not specifically want to live in a community governed by a homeowners association. Only 27 percent of resale purchasers had read the CC&Rs, and those residents only read them when they were accused of breaking a covenant. A survey conducted by Alexander (1991) found that less than 10 percent of the sample had read the CC&Rs before their purchase, yet there have been dozens reported court cases revolving around the issue of breaking covenants.

Gated communities with a homeowners association, or any other type of internal governance, have the authority to deny rights to non-members, apart from the obvious denial of entry. Homeowner associations typically do not allow religious or political door knocking or the display of political posters, and this interferes with the constitutional right of freedom of speech. Sometimes public roads are gated because residents in that community feel the gates are needed, however the general public's tax dollars originally funded this now private road. Is it right to exclude the general public from roads they paid for? The gates produce a two-sided dispute: the insiders versus the outsiders. People living outside of the gated community express that the gates create a physical barrier to access and think it is unfair to pay taxes for the community at large, but are not allowed to use the parks and trails inside. On the other hand, people living in the gated community feel they are over taxed because they pay property taxes and the fees to support their homeowners association. States such as New Jersey impose lower property taxes on homeowners in gated communities to compensate for their association (Blandy et al, 2003).

Some theorists argue that associations, which adversely affect the rights of non-members, are subject to public law challenges in court. Blandy et al (2003) state that this route would enable non-members to assert their constitutional rights against the association's CC&Rs. The Federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 protects certain classes of person against discrimination in housing. Traub (2000) suggests that the high values associated with gated communities can be shown to have a discriminatory effect on non-white groups. He further

states that if a discrimination case were to be brought, the association would have to show “legitimate business reasons” for the policy or practice complained of (Traub, 2000).

Schwartz (1996) addresses the issue of denying entry to non-residents of a gated community. The City of Rosemont, Illinois passed an ordinance allowing the erection of gates around 300 dwellings. This decision was made to prevent an increase in crime in the area. State funds were used to build the access gates, which are manned by police employed by the state. Schwartz concludes that in the context of preventing crime, stopping vehicles is probably reasonable, and this outweighs the violation of a citizen’s rights under the Fourth Amendment⁴.

Do gated communities pose a threat to the tax base and what happens to the services elsewhere? California Proposition 13, officially titled the “People’s Initiative to Limit Property Taxation,” was a ballot initiative to amend the constitution of the state of California; the initiative was enacted by the voters of California on June 6, 1978. Proposition 13 resulted in a cap on property tax rates in the state, reducing them by an average of 57 percent (California Proposition 13, 2006), and this severely restricted California’s ability to raise revenues through property taxes and fairly limited the localities’ ability to build or maintain public infrastructure. Proposition 13 has led to a severe shortage of affordable housing, since new developments must often be far above the state’s median home price in order to provide enough tax revenue to pay for the services they require. Because of the reduction in property tax rates, cities in California have trouble making investments in public infrastructure, resulting in local governments having to turn to private companies to provide infrastructure and services. This resulted in the proliferation of the gated community in California, and gave those people living behind the gates an extraordinary power to prevent people living outside the gates to have the same services.

⁴ The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

AICP Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct

The AICP Code of Ethics, adopted October 1978, is intended to provide guidelines for planning professionals. Its purpose is to help professionals make appropriate and ethical choices, as it provides a basis for evaluating their work from an ethical point of view. The Code is based on the ethical principle of building better inclusive communities. The principles of the Code derive from the responsibility for planning professionals to serve the public interest with compassion for the welfare of all people. Under the Code of Ethics, planners need to aspire to the following principles⁵:

1. Always be conscious of the rights of others.
2. Have special concern for the long-range consequences of present action.
3. Seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration.

After considering the planners Code of Ethics, one might ask if the development of gated communities violates the Code. Gated communities obviously are selective and the rights of others are overlooked. Members of the gated community have the rights to enter, but the general community does not receive the same benefits. If an individual wants to enter the community, they either have to have their name on a list or a community member has to allow them access to enter. Is it ethical for cities and suburbs to directly restrict citizens from an area of their community? Landman (2000) argues that gated communities have the potential to impair the rights of fellow residents and this is detrimental to a community's long-term sustainability, which in turn violates the AICP Code of Ethic to 'have a special concern for the long-range consequences of present action'. As discussed earlier, a sustainable city strives for social inclusion and cohesion, however this is not achieved when gated enclaves form restricted boundaries.

Another principle, 'to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration', is also violated by the development of lifestyle or prestige gated communities. As discussed earlier, gated communities obviously exclude certain individuals,

⁵ Not a comprehensive list.

both from visiting and living. In addition, the houses in the gated communities are rarely affordable; there are extra fees imposed on top of the property tax that make them unaffordable. The amenities found inside lifestyle communities are often exclusionary, such as golf or tennis, and this tends to promote a homogenous neighborhood (Strahilevitz, 2005).

Conclusion

The literature has provided insight about the history and issues surrounding gated communities. It has also revealed the physical, social, environmental, and economic implications of gated communities. Information about the physical landscape and aesthetics of the gated community as being a motivation for residents to fort up was lacking in the literature. Much has been written about the social landscape, such as the “landscape of fear” or a landscape that excludes (Low, 2001; Blakely and Snyder, 1997; Mike Davis, 1990), but little has been written about the scenic vistas, “stunning” golf course views, water features, and landscaping found in many gated communities.

Gated communities are a highly significant feature of post-modern urbanism (Glasze, et al, 2006), and are a response to the growing insecurities of public space. Gates, walls, and security guards are being used by growing number of American in reaction to the transformation of the nation’s economy and society (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). The emergence and rapid spread of gated communities reflect and strengthen the trend in America to privatize urban space and public spaces (McKenzie, 2006).

As Americans have witnessed a decrease in social capital, the community has become an important element in building social networks. Americans have replaced the immediate family as community with a community of interest. Blakely and Snyder (1997) state that in a mobile and fragmented nation, community has become the center for developing values, creating political responsibility, and forming social networks for employment and citizenship. It is important to protect our neighborhood communities because they are essential and fundamental to our democratic society, and it is social capital that builds and maintains democracy (Putnam, 2000).

However, protecting houses and lifestyles with gates and guards is contradictory to community building. The American Institute of Architects (AIA) lists ten principles for livable communities. Three of the ten principles are as follows:

1. **Encourage mixed-use developments:** Integrating different land uses and varied building type create vibrant, pedestrian friendly and diverse communities.
2. **Vary transportation options:** Giving people the option of walking, biking and using public transit, in addition to driving, reduces traffic congestion, protects the environment and encourages physical activity.
3. **Build vibrant public spaces:** Citizens need welcoming, well-defined public spaces to stimulate face-to-face interaction, collectively and mourn, encourage civic participation, admire public art, and gather for public events.

Gated communities stand short when measured to the AIA's principles for livable communities. Sustainable design strives for compact development, environmental protection, citizen participation, equal access to services, concern for all members of the community, public spaces to bring people together, and architecture and zoning that promotes a sense of place. Gated communities are rarely designed to fulfill these goals, as they are single-use, lack transportation options, do not encourage civic participation, are not accessible, and fail to be diverse. This is not a holistic approach to community growth and can reinforce non-sustainable patterns of development, making our cities and suburbs non-manageable for our future generations.

Community building is often discussed in the development business, from gated subdivisions marketed as "communities" to entire planned cities promoted as "your new hometown" (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). These master planned towns use the physical design descended from Howard's Garden City. From the marketing standpoint, developers promote gated communities as a safe and close-knit community, family-friendly, and property that will rise in value. Gated communities intentionally lack flexibility; they emphasize strong CC&Rs, which make adaptive reuse difficult. Instead of vibrant public spaces, they contain private recreational facilities that offer a narrow range of activities that do not support the community's needs. The trend toward privatized government and

neighborhoods is part of the more general trend of fragmentation, and the resulting loss of connection and social contact is narrowing the bonds of mutual responsibility and the social capital (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

The following chapter seeks to understand the primary motivations of residents in purchasing a home in the Glen Oaks Residential Community and if the residents are genuinely satisfied with living in their community. First, it identifies the demographics of the Glen Oaks sample population and then examines their motivations that influenced residents to fort up and their attitudes towards living in a gated community.

CHAPTER THREE:

GLEN OAKS – A CASE STUDY

“The reason people give for their decision to move to a gated community vary widely, and the closer you get to the person and his or her individual psychology, the more complex the answer.” – Setha Low

Evidence supporting this case study was gathered from published literature, which presented additional sources through their bibliographies. Sources included books, journals, newspapers, and periodicals. Internet searches led to published works from urbanist scholars and information from various organizations such as the Urban Land Institute, the American Planning Association, Cyburbia, and the Community Associations Institute. Various keyword searches at the Iowa State University library and via the Internet included: gated community, West Des Moines profile, Iowa profile, census, Glen Oaks Residential Community, Glen Oaks Owners Association, homeowners association, crime, security, and various other searches. This research revealed a great deal about the forces that drive gated developments in crime stricken areas, but very little about gating in low-crime areas and Iowa in general. In addition, the research also lacked information about aesthetics and landscaping as being a factor in community satisfaction. The chapter that follows identifies the study area and describes the survey participants. It also describes the data collection method – a mail survey – and analyzes the data from the returned surveys.

Research Question

The purpose of this research is to answer the questions, “What motivates or influences residents to move into Glen Oaks Residential Community in West Des Moines, Iowa, and: Is there a greater sense of place created because of the gates?” In order to address these questions, the study area must be defined as well as area demographics. This research question is premised by the hypothesis that gated communities are enclaves allowing habitants to live in an environment with people like themselves, emphasizing status and lifestyle over the desire of safety and security. On a larger scale, gated communities are part of the trend toward exercising physical and social means of territorial control.

The Study Area

Table 3. Glen Oaks Information	
Age	Conception in 1991, first resident in 1993
Size	532 acres, 398 current home sites, 15 under construction, 52 to be built
Location	West Des Moines, Iowa
Board Size	Board of Directors, 5 elected members
Committees	Architectural Review Committee, 5 members Security Committee, 5 members

Glen Oaks Residential Community

Glen Oaks is a development of single family homes, townhomes, and condominiums in the City of West Des Moines, which is the fastest growing city in Iowa according to land mass (West Des Moines, 2006). When Glen Oaks was established, the area was farmland on the western edge of the city with few retail areas and restaurants. But over the years, West Des Moines has become an employment center with a daytime workforce of 47,000 as of December 2004 and a shopping and entertainment destination for central Iowa (West Des Moines, 2006). The city has been recognized by a metro-wide publication as the best local residential community as well as a great place to conduct business. West Des Moines is mainly located in Polk County (7 percent population increase) and extends into Dallas County, which is the fastest growing county in Iowa (27 percent population increase from 2000 to 2005) and ranked 10th among the fastest growing counties in the nation from 2003 to 2004 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005).

The original concept of Glen Oaks Residential Community, a gated residential community and golf course located in West Des Moines, Iowa, began in 1991. North South Investors, LLC, led by Gary Kirke, the development leader, and William Van Orsdel, was formed to convert 532 acres of farmland into the Glen Oaks Residential Community and Glen Oaks Country Club (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006). Other investors in North/South include Terry Moss, Robert G. Pulver, Robert Horner, Jim Cownie, William A. Krause, Fred Nesbit, Michael Nesbit, and Richard Wikert. The desire of this group was “to create a community, club and golf course unparalleled in the State of Iowa” (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006).

Glen Oaks Residential Community was developed as a Planned Unit Development (PUD). In West Des Moines, a PUD Ordinance is used as an alternate development tool for those projects that propose a creative and innovative solution whose layout is not achievable by the standards under which the property was originally zoned. See Appendix B to read the West Des Moines PUD Ordinance. The Glen Oaks area is zoned Open Space PUD, Single-Family PUD and Medium Density Residential PUD. The PUD classification bears the official description of “encouraging unique innovations in residential, commercial, and industrial development, and/or urban renewal so that the growing demands of the population may be met by greater variety in type, design, and layout of buildings and by the conservation and more efficient use of open space” (West Des Moines, 2006). A reduction or modification of setbacks, bulk regulations, additional signage, or amendment of land uses should not be the sole justification for a PUD.

Glen Oaks was also designated as a Tax Increment Financing (TIF) district. TIF is used to publicly finance needed public improvements and to enhance infrastructure in a defined area. The intended purpose is to promote the viability of existing businesses while attracting new commercial developments. In West Des Moines, TIFs have been extended in recent years to up-scale entities such as the Glen Oaks Residential Community and the Jordan Creek Town Center mall, the largest shopping center in Iowa with 2 million square feet of retail space.



Figure 5. Access Gate on Fuller Road.

Glen Oaks Residential Community is bordered by four streets with only two controlled access areas: on the north (with access) is Fuller Road, on the east is Interstate 35, on the south (with access) is Grand Avenue, and on the west is South 60th Street. The main entrance, on Grand Avenue, is staffed 24 hours with a security guard. North of Glen Oaks is the West Glen Town Center, a New Urbanism development

that integrates retail, entertainment, office, residential, and performance venues.

In the fall of 1992, the streets in the first phase of the development were completed. In the spring of 1993, construction of residential homes began and in the meantime, construction of the golf course and Clubhouse was proceeding. The first resident moved in July of 1993. Glen Oaks Country Club was officially incorporated in December of 1993 and the Club and its facilities were sold to the members. The practice fairway opened in May 1994, followed by the Pro Shop, locker rooms, and Bogey's Grille in July 1994. The Clubhouse was fully opened in August 1994 (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006).

Today there are 398 residential sites in Glen Oaks, while 15 more are currently under construction and 52 homes proposed in the future. The balance between single-family dwellings and townhouse/condominium dwellings are distributed evenly: after all home sites are developed, 49.2 percent of the community will be single-family and 50.8 percent of housing will be townhouse/condominium. As of March 16, 2006, there were a total of 286 homeowners in Glen Oaks (Peterson, 2006). Table 4 below shows the composition of housing structures found in Glen Oaks.

Table 4. Glen Oaks Units in Structure

	Completed	Under Construction	To Be Built	Total
Single Family	170	9	50	229
Townhomes	228	6	2	236
Total	398	15	52	465

The golf course was designed by the top golf course architect in the United States, Tom Fazio, and was nominated by *Golf Digest* as one of the top new golf courses in the United States. Other recognitions include "1995 Golf Course of the Year" by Seed Research of Oregon and "9th Best New Private Golf Courses opened in 1995" by *Golf Digest* (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006).

There are five types of membership in the Glen Oaks Country Club: young professional golf membership, non-resident golf membership, clubhouse membership, sport membership, or golf membership. The young professional golf membership is for persons under the age of 35 and receives a 25 percent reduction in the initiation fee and dues. The non-resident golf membership is only available for someone who resides and works 50 miles

or more from Glen Oaks. Only if an individual's address qualifies (i.e. lives greater than 50 miles away), then that person will receive a reduced membership fee. The residents living in Glen Oaks do not receive any type of discount from dues and fees. It is important to note that the Glen Oaks Residential Community and the Glen Oaks Country Club are two separate



Figure 6. Glen Oaks Golf Course.

businesses. For example, Glen Oaks Owners Association pays for any meetings it has in the Clubhouse and Glen Oaks Country Club pays for services provided by the Owners Association, such as snow removal.

Clubhouse membership privileges allow for the use of all Clubhouse facilities, including the fitness center. The monthly fee is \$95, along with a \$30 gratuity fee. Clubhouse membership also allows persons to participate in all the Club Social Events, such as holiday buffets and parties. There is a restriction on golf allotment; Clubhouse members can play a maximum of five rounds in one year, tee times are available after 2 p.m., and green fees still apply.

The sports membership includes all clubhouse and social activities plus use of the fitness center, pool and Poolside Snack Bar, tennis courts, and use of the golf course. However, restrictions still apply, such as sports members can only play up to five times a year, paying appropriate green fees and use of golf carts are an additional charge. The golf membership includes all amenities found in the sports membership, in addition to unlimited golf for members and their family.

Other amenities provided by the Glen Oaks Country Club include a swimming pool and tennis courts. The Country Club provides both swimming and tennis lessons and members age 4 – 17 are encouraged to join the Glen Oaks Swim Team. Features found within the Glen Oaks Residential Community include activity groups, walking and biking paths, and a shuttle for school aged children to West Des Moines schools.

Data from the U.S. Census

Glen Oaks is located in census tract 110.23 block group 3, outlined in Figure 7. This section will focus on the differences between census tract 110.23 block group 3 and West Des Moines as a whole. One of the objectives of this research is to identify the demographic characteristics of residents living in Glen Oaks. Are there common similarities among residents, including age, occupation, lifestyle interest, fear of crime?

In census tract 110.23 block group 3, 94.82 percent of the population is White, 0.56 percent African-American, 2.99 percent Asian, 1.19 percent other, and 0.44 percent as two or more races. As of 2000, the tract contained 4,785 people in 1,679 households. There were 1,757 housing units of which 83.7 percent were single-family dwellings and 16.3 percent multi-family. The median house value was \$212,400, whereas West Des Moines median house value was \$140,600. The homes in this area are relatively new; the median year built for this tract is 1996 as compared to 1984 for West Des Moines. In general, these summary measures indicate that this is an upper-middle class area of West Des Moines. Table 5 below shows the contrast amongst individuals living in West Des Moines and the higher incomes and house values of people living in Census tract 110.23 block group 3.

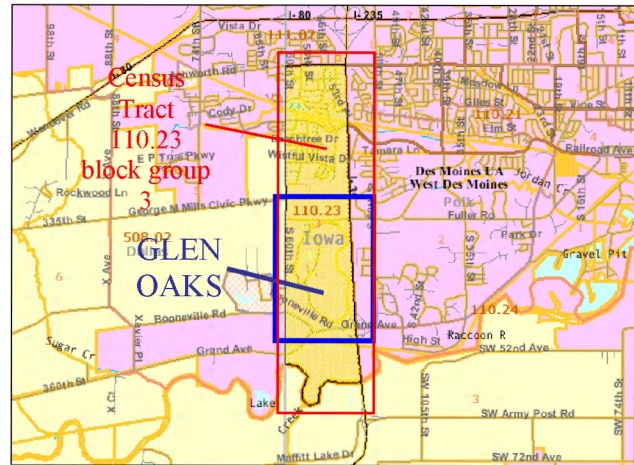


Figure 7. Location of Glen Oaks and Census Tract 110.23 Block Group 3 (U.S. Census, 2006).

Table 5. Demographic Comparison

	Census Tract 110.23 Block Group 3	West Des Moines
Population	4,785	46,300
White Alone	94.8%	92.9%
Median Income	\$93,684	\$54,139
Median House Value	\$212,400	\$140,600

Glen Oaks Owners Association

All property owners in Glen Oaks are members of the Glen Oaks Owners Association, the “master” association. Owners of townhomes are members of their respective townhome association, known as “sub” associations. They are listed below in Table 6:

Table 6. Townhome Association and Manager		
Townhome Association	Units	Managed By
The Gallery	25	Self Managed
The Greens	36	Conlin Properties
The Villas	8	Self Managed
The Townhomes of Glen Oaks	24	Self Managed
Oakwood Townhomes	23	Conlin Properties
Stoneway Townhomes	18	Showcase Homes
The Village at Glen Oaks	102	Sinclair Real Estate Group
Total	236	

The “master” association is responsible for the private infrastructure (streets, sewers, street lighting, trails, parking lots), maintenance of the common entrances and landscape areas, gatehouse security, and administration of the board of directors and committees. The “sub” associations are responsible for the mowing of common townhome property, maintenance of common townhome landscaping, snow removal of driveways, and exterior maintenance of the buildings themselves (roofs, siding, etc.).

Owning property and/or living in Glen Oaks does not require you to be a member of the Glen Oaks Country Club, concurrently you do not have to live in Glen Oaks to be a member of the Country Club. As of March 16, 2006, Glen Oaks Country Club had 648 members, 202 of which are homeowners in Glen Oaks (Peterson, 2006). It is important to keep in mind that memberships are sold by household: one family equals one membership.

The owner of a single family home or lot in Glen Oaks has one vote in the Glen Oaks Owners Association. Generally townhome owners have 1/2 vote, however, owners in The Village at Glen Oaks have approximately 1/3 vote each in the Association. The Glen Oaks Country Club is a member of the Glen Oaks Owners Association and has 10 votes. The current dues per vote in Glen Oaks Owners Association are set at \$165 per month. Renters living in Glen Oaks are not members of any association, only the unit owners are. The unit

owners pay all due assessments to the associations, and they simply factor that into the amount of rent they charge the renter.

The collected monthly fees net approximately \$630,900 per year (McClarnon, 2006). Examples of operating revenue include a base assessment, mailbox assessment, access card fees, vacant lot mowing fees, late fees, golf tournament fees, etc. Operating expenses account for contract labor, mowing, chemical application, landscaping maintenance and plantings, snow removal, gatehouse security, additional security, fence repairs, utilities, etc. See Appendix C to find a detailed account of the operating revenues and expenses for the Glen Oaks Owners Association 2006 Budget.

Residents of the Greens, managed by Conlin Properties, pay \$290 a month for association dues (lawn care, snow removal, insurance on the exterior) and dues to the master association (French, 2006). The Oakwood Townhomes, whose legal name is ‘Glen Oaks Townhomes’, are about to be ‘turned over’, which means that the Board of Directors will be homeowner controlled and not developer controlled as it has been previously. This happens when the last unit is sold and closed, followed by a turnover meeting. Residents of Glen Oaks Townhomes, also managed by Conlin Properties, pay \$236.50 a month for association dues (Roder, 2006).

Five members serve on the Board of Directors; the members of the community elect the Board at an annual meeting. Each member serves a three-year term and the terms are staggered. The Glen Oaks Owners Association also has two committees: the Architectural Review Committee and the Security Committee. Both committees have five members and the members are appointed by the Board and serve until they resign or are removed by the Board. The Architectural Review Committee has the sole discretion to determine whether plans and specifications submitted for approval are acceptable to the Association.

The Declaration of Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions for Glen Oaks was executed on December 16, 1992. Glen Oaks, Inc. is the owner of the property located in Polk County, Iowa and has the control to subject such property to the provisions of the *Declaration* and to provide flexible and reasonable method for the administration and maintenance of such property. Included in the *Declaration* is a list of terms, resident’s property rights, membership description and rules, association management responsibilities,

architectural standards and use restrictions, country club covenants, city covenants, and general provisions. Listed below are examples of standards and restrictions found in the *Declaration of Covenants, Conditions and Restrictions for Glen Oaks*.

Building Restrictions

- No building or structure of a temporary character and no trailer, basement, tent, shack, garage or outbuilding shall be used at any time as a residential dwelling on any lot, either temporarily or permanently.

Exterior Appearance

- Foil or other reflective materials should not be used on any windows for sunscreens, blinds, shades, or other purpose, nor shall any window-mounted heating or air-conditioning units be permitted.
- Except within screened service yards, outside clotheslines or other outside facilities for drying or airing clothes are specifically prohibited and shall not be erected, placed, or maintained, nor shall any clothing, rugs, or other item be hung on any railing, fence, hedge, or wall.
- When not in use, all garage doors shall be kept closed.
- No above ground (or non-permanent) swimming pools shall be permitted on any lot.



Figure 8. Exterior of Houses in Glen Oaks.

Signs

- Except may be required by legal proceedings, no signs or advertising posters of any kind shall be maintained or permitted within any windows, on the exterior of any

improvements located within the development, or elsewhere on any portion of the property.

Antennas

- No television antenna, radio receiver, satellite dish, or other similar device shall be attached to or installed on any portion of the development.

Pets

- In no event shall there be more than two (2) dogs maintained in any one dwelling at any one time.
- No pet shall be allowed to make an unreasonable amount of noise or to become a nuisance.
- Pets shall be under leash at all times when walked or exercised in any portion of the Common Areas.

Driveways, Motor Vehicles, Trailers, Boats

- Except for multi-family areas, all dwellings must have, at a minimum, double attached or double basement garages.
- All automobiles owned or used by owners or occupants other than temporary guests and visitors shall be parked in garages to the extent that garage space is available, and garages shall not be used for storage or otherwise so that they become unavailable for parking cars therein.
- No owners or other occupants shall service (including changing the oil thereof), repair or restore any vehicle of any kind upon or within any lot, except within enclosed garages or workshops or for emergency repairs.

Weed Control

- The owner of each lot, whether vacant or improved, shall keep the same free of debris and shall keep the same mowed so that the grass does not exceed six (6) inches in height.

Traffic Regulations

- All vehicular traffic on the private streets and roads in Glen Oaks shall be subject to the provisions of the laws of the State of Iowa and City of West Des Moines concerning operation of motor vehicles on public streets. The Association is authorized to promulgate, administer, and enforce reasonable rules and regulations governing vehicular and pedestrian traffic, including reasonable safety measures and speed limits governing the private streets of the development, which safety measures and speed limits may be different from those generally applicable to similar public streets.

Crime in West Des Moines

Since the fear of crime is one of the primary motivations to make people move into a gated community in the United States, it is important to identify the crime statistics for the City of West Des Moines and the State of Iowa at large. In 2000, the State of Iowa had a total Crime Index of 3,233.7 reported per 100,000 people. This ranked the state as having the 35th highest total Crime Index in the nation (The Disaster Center, 2006). Table 7 shows how crime peaked in Iowa in the 1980s and began to decrease in the 1990s.

Table 7. Iowa Crime Rates

Year	Population	Index per 100,000 Inhabitants
1970	2,825,041	2,505.1
1980	2,907,804	4,746.7
1990	2,776,755	4,100.9
2000	2,926,324	3,233.7
2004	2,954,451	3,176.2
2005	2,966,334	3,125.0

Source: The Disaster Center

Crime in West Des Moines is both lower than the state of Iowa and national average. The following statistics were obtained from the Federal Bureau of Investigation website. There were 70 total violent crime incidents of murder, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault in West Des Moines for the year 2003. The average violent crime incident for cities in Iowa with populations over 10,000 was 177. A total of 1,792 property crime incidents occurred in 2003 in West Des Moines (FBI, Department of Justice, 2003). Property crime

incidents include burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson. The average property crime incident for cities in Iowa with populations over 10,000 was 1,904 (FBI, Department of Justice, 2003). All violent crime in West Des Moines is 0.23 times the national average, which is valued at one (see Figure 9), and all property crime in West Des Moines is 0.81 times the national average (see Figure 10) (City Rating, 2006). Anything less than one means there is less crime in that city than the national average.

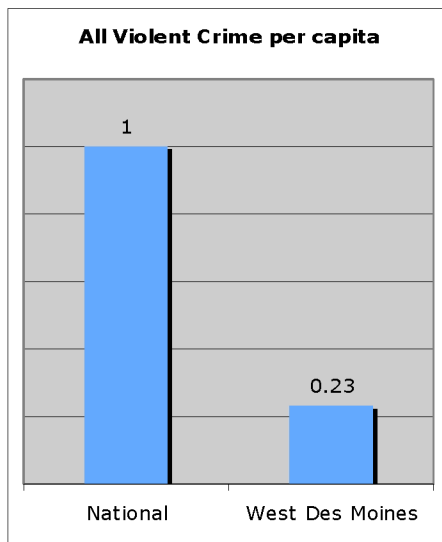


Figure 9. All Violent Crime.

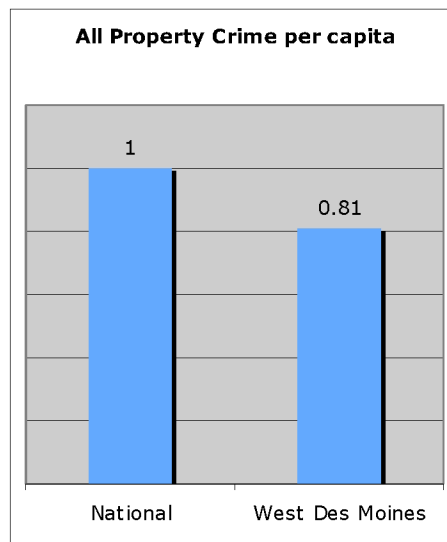


Figure 10. All Property Crime.

Glen Oaks is not immune from crime. In the summer of 2005, Glen Oaks was the site of several car break-ins and a garage burglary. Items taken from the cars included stereo equipment, compact discs, clothing items and cash left in the vehicles. The total loss from the thefts was estimated at \$2,100. A set of golf clubs valued at \$3,500 was stolen from a garage when the overhead door was mistakenly left open overnight. West Des Moines police Lt. Mike Ficcola stated, “Crime can happen in any neighborhood” (Suk, 2005).

Research Method

The Research Population

The objective of this research is to determine the motivations and desires that influence residents to move into the Glen Oaks Residential Community. Therefore, the characteristics of the individuals in the sample are vital in understanding the make-up of the

community. Who lives in the Glen Oaks Residential Community? Variables such as resident age, marital status, occupation, and number of children were asked to better comprehend the social and demographic characteristics of the community.

The Polk County Assessor maintains a database on their website⁶ of all property listings and property assessments for Polk County, Iowa. From the Polk County database, the all names and addresses of Glen Oaks residents were obtained, a total of 419 properties. It is important to note that not all of these properties are developed or occupied. Most of the properties that are undeveloped remain in the hands of the investors and/or developers. Two hundred addresses were randomly chosen from the Glen Oaks Residential Community. The sample size was based on a 95% confidence level with a $\pm 5\%$ confidence interval.

The Survey

Permission was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) March 21, 2006 to randomly survey residents of Glen Oaks Residential Community. The surveys were mailed to 200 residents on March 24, 2006. Names and addresses were obtained from the Polk County Assessors website. Surveys were mailed from and returned to the Institute for Design Research and



Figure 11. Landscaping at Glen Oaks Entrance.

Outreach (IDRO) at the College of Design. Twelve incomplete questionnaires were returned to IDRO because of a change of address or an incorrect address, therefore these twelve questionnaires have not been included in the total. Seventy-three completed questionnaires returned valid, a response rate of 38.8 percent. Although the total response rate is low, compared to other gated community studies, it is a relatively high percent. In similar studies,

⁶ <http://www.assess.co.polk.ia.us/>

Wilson-Doenges (2000) ended up with an overall response rate of 29 percent. A study by Carvalho, Varkki, and Anthony (1997) had a similarly low response rate (26 percent), showing the difficulty in gaining participation from these residents (Wilson-Doenges, 2000).

Table 8 provides details about the household composition of the respondents who completed the questionnaire. The average age of the respondents was 47.65 (maximum 84; minimum 23), 29.2 percent of the residents are single and 70.8 percent of the residents are married. Two adults with zero children make up the largest percentage of respondents, at 37.5 percent. One respondent did not state his marital status or whether any children were living in the household.

Table 8. Household Composition of Respondents		
	Number	Percent
1 adult	21	29.2%
2 adults	27	37.5%
2 adults 1 child	9	12.5%
2 adults 2 children	12	16.7%
2 adults 3 children	3	4.2%

Table 9 below shows the types of property in the gated community and the percentage of questionnaires distributed to respondents living in townhomes, condominiums, and single-family houses and the percentage of returned questionnaires. One respondent cut off the ID tag, but completed the entire survey; therefore, the housing type for that specific questionnaire could not be verified. Out of the total questionnaires sent to residents, 53.5 percent were sent to people residing in townhouses or condominiums and 46.5 percent were sent to single-family households. The questionnaires returned displayed a similar pattern. Returned questionnaires accounted for 54.2 percent townhouse or condominium residents and 45.8 percent single-family households.

Table 9. Types of Property by Questionnaire Distributed and Returned				
	Townhouse	Condominium	Single-family	Total
Distributed	50	57	93	200
Returned	18	21	33	72

In order to maintain professionalism and to be in compliance with Iowa State University IRB standards for human subjects testing, participants were given the introductory letter that described the survey, along with foreseeable risks, and my contact information for any questions or problems encountered. A postage-paid return envelope was included to motivate participants to return the survey so they did not have to pay for a stamp to return the completed survey. Each individual was given an ID number to track and monitor the responses; their names were omitted to ensure confidentiality (Rea, 2005). The two hundred questionnaires were sent out to the Glen Oaks sample population on March 24, 2006. Within two weeks, the majority of the survey population had responded.

Delivering the questionnaires by mail had the advantage of giving respondents time to think about their answers and allowing them a higher level of privacy while completing the questionnaire. In addition, the mail-out questionnaire exposes all respondents to precisely the same wording on questions. Thus, it is not subject to interviewer-induced bias in terms of voice inflection, misreading of the questions, or other clerical or administrative errors (Rea, 2005). However, some disadvantages of the mail questionnaire include the time span of sending and receiving the questionnaire, as well as a lack of motivation among residents to complete the questionnaire. Also, some surveys were returned because of incorrect addresses (Mangione, 1995).

The questionnaire sought information about why respondents had moved into the gated community, demographics of the household, where they had moved from, and what they believed the level of community feeling (i.e., neighborly, friendly, distant) was in the community. Both open-ended and closed-ended questions were used in the questionnaire. Closed-ended questions provide a fixed list of alternative responses and ask the respondent to select one answer, whereas open-ended questions have no preexisting response categories and permit the respondent a great deal of latitude in responding to them (Rea, 2005). There are advantages and disadvantages to both types of questions, and it was chosen to ask a combination of both types to get better responses. The advantage of the closed-ended question is that the fixed list of response possibilities tend to make the question clearer (Rea, 2005), whereas the use of the open-ended question allow respondents to answer the question

how they choose, which may in turn help the researcher address other needs or issues that were overlooked.

In addition to asking the question, “Why did you move into the Glen Oaks Residential Community?” it was decided to create a relatively close-ended question by asking the participants were asked to rank a set of criteria so that generalization of the data would be more possible (Creswell, 2003). A likert-scale was used in order to make the information quantifiable by limiting the number of responses that were available to the participants (Creswell, 2003). Fourteen amenities were listed and the residents were asked to indicate the extent of importance or no importance of each amenity. The number at one end of the scale represented the greatest amount of importance, or “Very Important,” and the number at the other end of the scale represents no importance, or “Not Important” (See Table 10 below).

Table 10. Amenity Scale Example					
	Very Important		Neutral		Not Important
Amenity	5	4	3	2	1

The likert-scale allows for each item to be analyzed separately and summed by creating a score for each amenity. The fourteen amenities are as following: golf course, swimming pool, architecture/ home design, tennis courts, security/safety, gated entrance, neighborhood friendliness, aesthetics/landscaping, homogenous neighbors, exercise facility, proximity to workplace, proximity to retail/commercial development, proximity to Interstate 35, and schools.

The analysis of the survey results that follows is divided into three main groups. First, the demographics of the sample population are discussed. Second, the preferences and motivations of individuals living in Glen Oaks are discussed. Third, the amenities found in the Glen Oaks Residential Community are reviewed.

Data Analysis

Demographics of the Sample Population

The average age of the survey population was 47.65, the minimum age being 23 and a maximum age of 84. The majority of the respondents were male, as they accounted for 67.1 percent of the responses. Seventy percent of all respondents were married and the other thirty percent were single, with a domestic partner, or living with a roommate. More than half the survey population (at 63.6 percent) does not have children under the age of 18 living in the household. Approximately 24 percent of the respondents were in management or executive positions, and another 24 percent of the respondents were retired (12%) or homemakers (12%). The majority of the survey respondents have lived in Glen Oaks Residential Community for one to three years, at 42.5 percent.

As discussed earlier, residents of Glen Oaks do not have to be members of the Country Club. Overall 61.6 percent of the respondents are Country Club members, while 38.4 percent opt to not be a member. Most of the residents had not lived in a gated community before; 89 percent had never lived behind gates, whereas 11 percent of the sample population either presently has a home in a gated community elsewhere or had lived in a gated development at one time. When asked if they specifically wanted to live in a gated development, 12.5 percent said that a gated community was their first priority in choosing a community to live in, while 87.5 percent stated that gates were not a determinate in picking a community.

Motivation to Move into Glen Oaks

When asked why they [the residents] moved into Glen Oaks Residential Community, 25.2 percent of the respondents moved into the community because of the golf course and other amenities that the Country Club provides. Another 21.7 percent moved into the community because of the location. Several people stated that it is very close to retail stores and to their work. More than a quarter, or 17.4 percent, of the sample population stated that they moved into Glen Oaks because of security features, such as the gate and guarded entrance. The architecture of the homes (13.0 percent) and the resale valuation of the homes (9.6 percent) are among the motivations to move into the gated community. Other factors

that influenced residents to reside in Glen Oaks include the landscape of the community, the prestigious atmosphere of the Country Club, the traffic regulations (i.e. less traffic in the community), the homeowners association, and the size of the lots.

Glen Oaks Amenities

The survey population was asked to respond to what amenities initially attracted them to live in Glen Oaks. This question was asked as both an open-ended question initially, and then the likert-scale was specifically on the fourteen amenities. The closed-ended question will be discussed later. The open-ended question was used to gather additional attractive amenities that were unknown during the time of the survey. The sample population listed golf or clubhouse activities as their top amenity (26.9 percent), followed by location (21.2 percent), security devices (20.2 percent), aesthetics or landscaping (13.5 percent), architecture or house design (10.6 percent), home valuation (4.8 percent), the Glen Oaks Owners Association (1.9 percent), and last, privacy (at 1.0 percent) was listed as an attractive amenity.

Level of Community

The sample population was asked to describe the level of community in Glen Oaks. They were asked to describe it as ‘neighborly and tight-knit’, ‘friendly’, or ‘distant and private’. Over half of the sample population, at 57.7 percent, found the community to be friendly. Only 9.9 percent found Glen Oaks neighborly and tight-knit and 32.4 percent of the sample population claimed that it was distant and private. Additional responses from the sample population were obtained about the level of community. They are as follows:

1. Glen Oaks residents are noseey and snobbish.
2. Living in Glen Oaks is like a high school clique; everyone feels they are part of the in-crowd.
3. The community used to be tight-knit, but has become distant and unsafe in the last two years.

The above results are very similar to a study conducted by Heisler and Klein (1996). In a survey sponsored by the Community Association Institute, Heisler and Klein's data showed that most of the respondents reported their gated community was friendly (64 percent), but only 8 percent said their community was tight-knit and 28 percent claimed that it was distant or private. In addition, the gated residents perceived the residents of surrounding areas sense of community about the same as their own. The authors concluded, "Gated communities are no better or worse than society as a whole in producing a strong sense of collective citizenship."

Ideal Neighborhood

Respondents were asked to identify what they would look for in a community if they were to move again. The architectural style of the home and size were listed as the top determinant when choosing a new community, at 18.6 percent. Sixteen percent of the respondents listed that they would choose to live somewhere exactly like Glen Oaks Residential Community. Location of the neighborhood (14.7 percent) was also a strong amenity in determining what type or where to live in the future. Twelve percent of the sample population stated that they would want to live in a gated development if they were to move, while 3 percent specifically said they would never live in a gated development again. Landscaping and amenities such as a golf course or a clubhouse were also listed as important factors when choosing a neighborhood.

Overall Survey Population Amenity Preference

The sample population was asked to indicate the extent of importance of fourteen listed amenities. Figure 12 below displays the overall preferences. A higher mean score indicated that more respondents found that amenity more important and is represented by taller bars. Conversely, a lower mean score indicated that more respondents found that amenity least important and is represented by shorter bars.

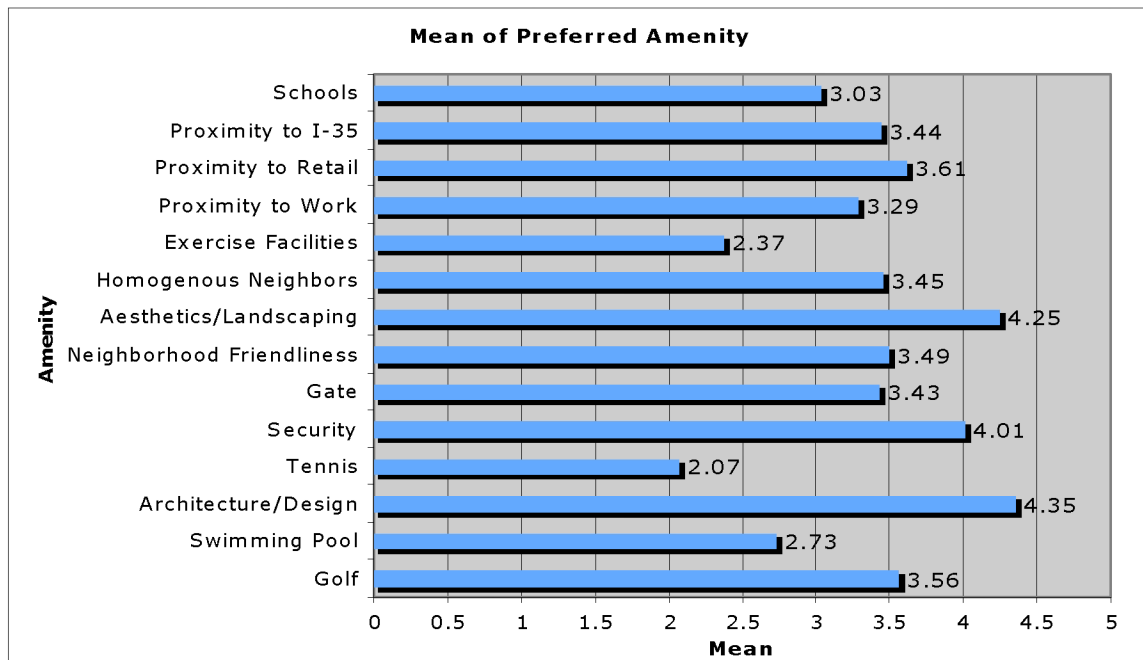


Figure 12. Mean of the Fourteen Amenities.

Figure 13 below divides the fourteen amenities into three groups: higher level of importance, neutral level of importance, and lower level of importance. These groupings are based upon the mean score for each amenity. Amenities with a mean score between 4 and 5 were placed in a higher importance ranking, amenities with a mean score between 3 and 4 are of neutral importance, and amenities with a mean score of less than 3 are of a lower importance.

Higher Level of Importance:

Architecture/ Home Design (4.35)

Aesthetics/ Landscaping (4.25)

Security/ Safety (4.01)

Neutral Level of Importance:

Proximity to Retail/ Commercial Development (3.61)

Golf (3.56)

Neighborhood Friendliness (3.49)

Homogenous Neighbors (3.45)

Proximity to Interstate 35 (3.44)

Gated Entrance (3.43)

Proximity to Workplace (3.29)

Schools (3.03)

Lower Level of Importance:

Swimming Pool (2.73)

Exercise Facility (2.37)

Tennis Courts (2.07)

Figure 13. Amenity Level of Importance.

The following pages address each amenity individually. For each amenity the mean score of the preference ranking as well as the standard deviation of those rankings is displayed. The mean score is an indicator of how high or low the respondents of the questionnaire ranked a particular amenity. The standard deviation weights all values of the variable by their frequency of occurrence and represents a version of a mean distance from each values of the variable to the arithmetic mean (Rea, 2005).

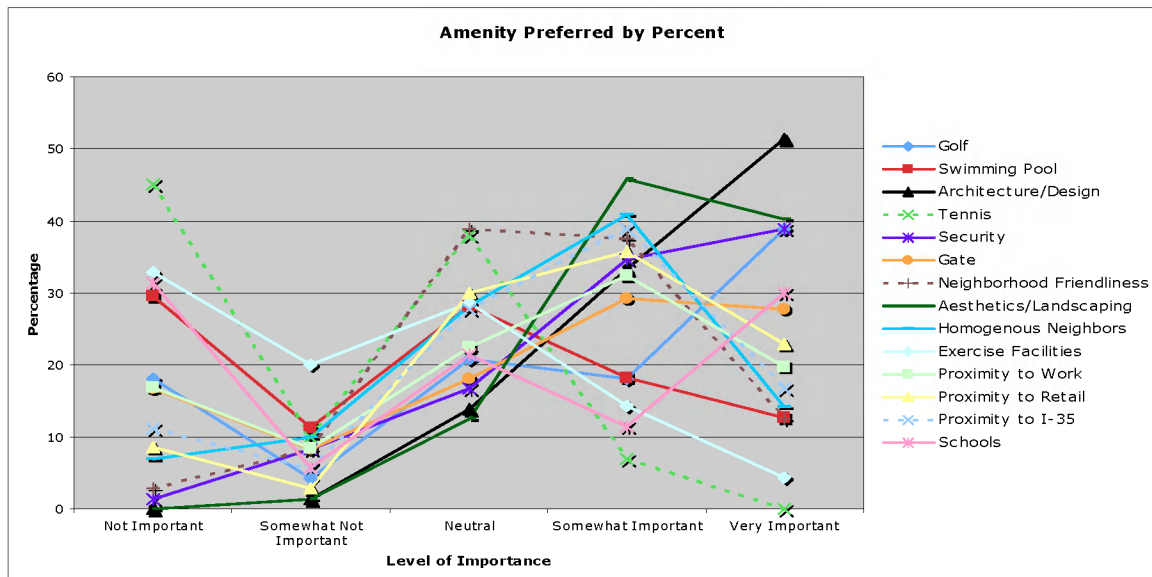


Figure 14. Level of Importance by Percent.

Figure 14 above shows each amenity and how the sample population ranked the amenity in terms of importance. Architecture and security were only two amenities that had a direct relationship, for instance for 'architecture and design', zero percent found it not important at all, 1.4 percent somewhat not important, 13.9 percent neutral, 33.3 percent somewhat important, and 51.4 very important. The amenities are discussed in more detail below.

Table 11. Amenity 1, Golf Course

Ranking	5 th
Mean	3.56
Standard Deviation	1.491

The sample population ranked the golf course fifth out of fourteen in terms of



Figure 15. Golf Course at Glen Oaks
(Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006).

importance. The standard deviation of the sample was 1.491 indicating that the responses of residents were spread further apart from the mean of other amenities; the average standard deviation for all fourteen amenities is 1.168. Eighteen (18) percent of the sample population found the golf course not important at all when choosing to live in Glen Oaks and 28 percent found the golf course very important, as it was a major reason these respondents moved to Glen Oaks. The individuals who listed the golf course as a very important amenity were on average older than the median age of the sample population; the median age of those respondents was 50.8, whereas the median age of the entire sample population was 47.7. The individuals who gave a lesser importance to the golf course were on average younger (median age of

40.8) than both the entire sample population and the population who found the golf course very important.

The residents who found the golf course extremely important also found the community to be more neighborly and friendly than residents who found the golf course not important. Likewise, residents who found the golf course not important also found the community to be more distant. Slightly less than 90 percent of the residents who found the golf course important were members of the Glen Oaks Country Club; 10.7 percent were not

members. Conversely, 76.9 percent of the residents who found the golf course not important were not members of the Country Club, and 23.1 percent were members.

Table 12. Amenity 2, Swimming Pool

Ranking	12 th
Mean	2.73
Standard Deviation	1.393

The swimming pool ranked low in amenity importance, which is not surprising since the pool is outdoor; the outdoor pool season in Iowa is generally late May to late August. Many of the residents who listed the swimming pool as an important amenity had children; the average of the sample population had 0.69 children per household, whereas individuals who ranked the swimming pool important had an average of 1.33 children per household. Respondents who rated the pool as the least important have an average of 0.09 children per household. Obviously, all respondents who ranked the pool as important are members of the Country Club since they have to be a member to use the pool. The majority of respondents (at 71.4 percent) who ranked the pool as a least important amenity are not members of the Glen Oaks Country Club.



Figure 16. The Pool at Glen Oaks.

Table 13. Amenity 3, Architecture and Home Design

Ranking	1 st
Mean	4.35
Standard Deviation	0.772

Architecture and home design ranked as the most important amenity amongst the Glen Oaks sample population, with a mean of 4.35. Not one single resident rated this as non-important. A little over half of the sample population (51.4 percent) found architecture and home design as a very important amenity when choosing to reside in Glen Oaks. Another 33.3 percent found this to be somewhat important, 13.9 percent of the sample population was

neutral about architectural design, and only 1.4 percent (or one person) thought it was somewhat not important. The standard deviation of the sample was much lower than the average standard deviation for all fourteen amenities. The standard deviation of the architecture amenity was 0.772, which indicates a strong degree of consensus amongst the sample population's preference for upscale architecture.

Glen Oaks Residential Community offers a variety of housing styles and sizes to its residents. The community is made up of single-family dwellings, condominiums, and townhomes. Homes either have a conventional, ranch, or contemporary building style, as classified by the Polk County Assessor (see Figure 17).



Figure 17. Building Style: pictured clockwise, townhouse, conventional single-family, ranch single family, contemporary single-family (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006).

All housing developments in Glen Oaks have to be approved by the Architectural Review Committee. To preserve the architectural and aesthetic appearance of Glen Oaks, no improvements of any nature, whatsoever shall be commenced, constructed, altered, add to or maintained upon any part of the property unless and until the Architectural Review Committee has approved in writing the proposed architect and builder of any such improvements (Declaration of Covenants, Conditions, and Restrictions for Glen Oaks). The Architectural Review Committee has sole discretion to determine whether plans and

specifications submitted for approval are acceptable to the Association. The different housing styles and types combined with the Architectural Review Committee makes Glen Oaks a desirable location for people seeking an “upscale” neighborhood.

Table 14. Amenity 4, Tennis Courts

Ranking	14 th
Mean	2.07
Standard Deviation	1.060

Tennis courts are a classic example of club goods, being that few individuals or families find it worth their while to include on their yard. A tennis court can become attractive when its costs and benefits can be divided amongst people in the community. However, if too few people are using the tennis court, then it will go to waste, and those who must pay for a share of the resource will be overtaxed by their condominium of homeowners association (Strahilevitz, 2005).



Figure 18. Tennis Court in Glen Oaks.

Glen Oaks is a classic case where people are not using the courts. On the scale of amenity importance, the tennis courts ranked last. Not one single individual ranked this as very important. The respondents who ranked the tennis courts as somewhat important (5 total) are members of the Glen Oaks Country Club and are also avid golfers. Four of those respondents found the community friendly and the other individual found Glen Oaks to be neighborly and tight-knit. Fifty-five percent found the tennis courts not important, and 38 percent felt neutral about the tennis courts. Figure 18 shows one of the three tennis courts in Glen Oaks.

Table 15. Amenity 5, Security and Safety

Ranking	3 rd
Mean	4.01
Standard Deviation	1.014

The 5th amenity ‘security and safety’ ranked third in importance. Approximately 74 percent ranked security and safety as somewhat to very important. About a quarter of the sample population, or 16.7 percent were neutral about safety and security being important when choosing to live in Glen Oaks, and 8.3 percent claimed that security was somewhat not important. Only one (or 1.4 percent) resident found security not important at all. Out of the residents who found security and safety an important amenity when choosing to live in Glen Oaks, 59.6 percent find the community friendly, 26.9 percent find it distant or private, and 13.5 percent find it tight-knit.

Developers of gated communities market them as safe and secure and if this is the case, one might ask why did not security rank number one in terms of importance? Some of the respondents felt that West Des Moines was safe and the area surrounding Glen Oaks was safe in general; the physical gate did not make the community any safer, rather it was safe to begin with. This leads to amenity 6.

Table 16. Amenity 6, Gated Entrance

Ranking	9 th
Mean	3.43
Standard Deviation	1.412

It was decided to separate the amenities ‘gated entrance’ and ‘security and safety’. The reason behind this was to see if residents differentiated the fear of crime from actual crime, as well as to see if residents preferred the gates as a prestigious factor when there was no concern for fear. The gated entrance ranked ninth out of the fourteen amenities, with a standard deviation of 1.412 indicating again that the responses of residents were spread further apart. The main purpose of the gate is to promote a safer environment, to keep out traffic, and to keep out unwanted individuals. Some of the respondents found the gate a

nuisance and preferred the community without the gate. One respondent even stated, “Living on the golf course and having a personal golf cart is more important than the gate.”

Fifty-seven percent of the respondents felt that the gates were important, as compared to the 74 percent whom found living in a safe and secure area important. Of the respondents who found security and safety very important, they also found the gates very important as well. Perhaps those who find safety important feel that the physical gate is a dominant feature of safety, rather than the area surrounding the neighborhood.

Table 17. Amenity 7, Neighborhood Friendliness	
Ranking	6 th
Mean	3.49
Standard Deviation	0.919

As stated earlier, Parks, Kearns, and Atkinson (2002) found in their study that safety of the respondents in their homes and ‘neighborhood friendliness’ were seen as the most important attributes of neighborhood satisfaction. However, neighborhood friendliness ranked sixth amongst Glen Oaks Residents. This amenity had a low standard deviation, meaning that there was not a lot of variance between the responses. Approximately 39 percent of the residents felt neutral about the level of friendliness in a community, while 37.5 percent felt it was somewhat important. Only 12.5 percent of the sample population felt neighborhood friendliness was very important when choosing to live in Glen Oaks. Of those individuals that found neighborhood friendliness very important, 44 percent found the community to be neighborly and tight-knit, followed by 33 percent friendly, and 22 percent distant or private. Those residents where neighborhood friendliness was not a factor of importance actually found Glen Oaks to be very friendly. The respondents who ranked neighborhood friendliness as somewhat important found the community to be 65.4 percent friendly, 11.5 percent neighborly and 23.1 percent distant.

Table 18. Amenity 8, Aesthetics and Landscaping

Ranking	2 nd
Mean	4.25
Standard Deviation	0.727

Neighborhood aesthetics and landscaping was the second most important amenity overall and it also had the least amount of variance; 86.2 percent of respondents categorized this amenity as somewhat or very important. Several respondents commented on the “lovely vistas”, open space, and enjoyed having the golf course views (see Figure 19), as well as the maintained properties. As you can see in Figure 20, the lawns are well maintained, yet each lawn and house looks exactly the same.



Figure 19. Glen Oaks Vista (Glen Oaks County Club, 2006).



Figure 20. Maintained Lawns.

The respondents commented about the lack of trees in Glen Oaks. There is an area in Glen Oaks with mature trees, appropriately titled “Glen Oaks Woods”, however areas with new development on the west side of the community lack trees. Figure 21 shows the comparison of a house in Glen Oaks Woods from a house in west Glen Oaks.



Figure 21. Wooded lot compared to a non-wooded lot.

Table 19. Amenity 9, Homogenous Neighbors

Ranking	7 th
Mean	3.45
Standard Deviation	1.080

Homogenous Neighbors ranked seventh with a mean of 3.45. West Des Moines is less diverse than Des Moines: in 2000, Des Moines had an 82.3 percent White population and West Des Moines had a 92.9 percent White population. West Des Moines is not very diverse in terms of race, perhaps residents want to live with those of similar interests (i.e. golf community) and not necessarily individuals of the same color. More than half, or 54.9 percent found ‘homogenous neighbors’ somewhat or very important. Of those individuals, a staggering 92.3 percent ranked security and safety as somewhat or very important. Possibly those residents associate a homogenous population as a safe and secure neighborhood. One respondent stated at the end of the questionnaire, “Living in Glen Oaks is great, it’s like being on vacation all year long. However, having done it, I am moving to a neighborhood that is less homogenous”.

Table 20. Amenity 10, Exercise Facility

Ranking	13 th
Mean	2.37
Standard Deviation	1.206

**Figure 22.** Exercise Room.

The exercise facility ranked second to last in importance. To be a member of the fitness center, you have to be a member of the Clubhouse. It is obvious that people are not going to move into a community specifically for its fitness club, but it is an added amenity to any neighborhood.

Approximately 53 percent of the sample population found the fitness center not important or somewhat not important and only 4.3 percent (or 3 respondents)

found it very important. In addition to the fitness center, there are walking and biking trails in the neighborhood. It is certain that Glen Oaks promotes a healthy lifestyle.

The following three amenities – proximity to work, retail, and Interstate 35 – deal with location. Location plays a major role in any type of development. As discussed earlier, gated communities are often located in the suburbs of cities, and Glen Oaks is located in West Des Moines, which is a suburb of Des Moines. When asked what amenities residents chose to live in Glen Oaks, 21.7 percent stated that the location of the community was their primary motivation. Glen Oaks is near West Glen Town Center and Jordan Creek Town Center mall, two primary shopping areas in West Des Moines. In addition, Interstate 35 borders the community, which may be a desirable amenity for those who use the Interstate to commute to work. Proximity to retail and commercial development ranked fourth, proximity to Interstate 35 ranked eight, and proximity to workplace ranked tenth.

Table 21. Amenity 11, Proximity to Workplace

Ranking	10 th
Mean	3.29
Standard Deviation	1.343

Proximity to workplace ranked tenth in terms of importance. Approximately 60 percent of respondents work in Des Moines, Clive, Urbandale, or Johnston, while 29 percent work in West Des Moines. Iowans have a shorter travel time to work than most other states. For example, the national average for residents to get to work is 25.1 minutes, where Iowa residents typically take 18.4 minutes to commute to work, and the average travel time to work for West Des Moines citizens is 18 minutes (U.S. Census, 2005). Since Glen Oaks is located in a prime location, near I-75, I-80, and I-275, it is surprising that ‘proximity to workplace’ ranked lower than other amenities. Perhaps it had a lower ranking since 24 percent of the population is either retired or homemakers, and proximity to their workplace is not an as important factor.

Table 22. Amenity 12, Proximity to Retail and Commercial Development

Ranking	4 th
Mean	3.61
Standard Deviation	1.132

Proximity to retail and commercial areas ranked fourth in terms of importance. Several respondents stated that they moved into Glen Oaks because of its “great location” and “it is close to everything I need”. Other respondents included in their reason to live in Glen Oaks because “development is going up on this side of town” and “it is near West Glen and Jordan Creek”, as well as “we moved here before these developments [Jordan Creek, West Glen], but like them”.

Table 23. Amenity 13, Proximity to Interstate 35

Ranking	8 th
Mean	3.44
Standard Deviation	1.172

Proximity to I-35 ranked eighth, as there were several comments about the “noise” produced from automobiles on the Interstate. On the other hand, several respondents liked the closeness to the Interstate. One respondent stated, “In 1998, it [Glen Oaks] was quiet, clean, no interstate exit, shopping, or busy roads. Instead, it was surrounded by farmsteads, songbirds, and trees”. The Interstate is viewed as a necessary evil: it is great to have the easy access, however the noise puts a burden on some of the residents. One respondent said that if, or when, they move to another neighborhood, “...closeness to the Interstate for travel and shopping is important”, while others stated that they would move to an area with less noise.

Table 24. Amenity 14, Schools

Ranking	11 th
Mean	3.03
Standard Deviation	1.633

The last amenity, schools, ranked eleventh with a mean of 3.03 and had the highest amount of variance as compared to the other amenities. Thirty percent found this amenity not important, while 30 percent found it to be very important. Perhaps the reason why living near good schools was not important is because the average age of respondents was 47.65 and several stated that they were “empty-nesters”, so they are less concerned about good schools since they have already raised their children. Of the respondents who found schools

very important, the average child per household was 1.5, as compared to the sample population with 0.69 children per household.

Summary

Table 25 below summarizes the fourteen amenities. From the survey findings, it can be discerned that the drive for security is not the primary motivation or desire for the Glen Oaks residents to fort up.

Table 25. Summary of the Fourteen Amenity Scale by Rank		
Amenity	Mean	Standard Deviation
Architecture/Design	4.35	0.772
Aesthetics/Landscaping	4.25	0.727
Security and Safety	4.01	1.014
Proximity to Retail	3.61	1.132
Golf	3.56	1.491
Neighborhood Friendliness	3.49	0.919
Homogenous Neighbors	3.45	1.080
Proximity to I-35	3.44	1.172
Gated Entrance	3.43	1.412
Proximity to Work Place	3.29	1.343
Schools	3.03	1.633
Swimming Pool	2.73	1.393
Exercise Facilities	2.37	1.206
Tennis Courts	2.07	1.060

Even though developers market gated communities as “an atmosphere of security and sense of community”, gates around a community vary rarely increase the level of community, nor do they make the community one-hundred percent crime free. The Glen Oaks website describes itself as an “environment in which camaraderie flourishes and new friendships begin” (Glen Oaks Country Club, 2006). However, the survey results did not show that Glen Oaks had an increased level of community. The gates do not create friendship. In fact, some tensions among individuals in the community have developed. Blakely and Snyder (1997) identify how sense of community is not a primary social value within gated communities; rather, the sense of community is short-lived because it is based on common interests and income level and not on an actual bond with the community. Glen

Oaks is in fact a lifestyle community, as many residents moved there because of easy access to the golf course. Even though residents share golf as a common interest, there are still several residents (29.4%) in the community who are not members of the Country Club, and therefore do not use the golf course. The gates, and the lifestyle inside, do not increase the level of community.

Glen Oaks provides a bundle of services and amenities to its residents, it is located in a prime location, and this is why the community is successful. One respondent wrote, “Glen Oaks is like living in a resort all year-long.” Several survey respondents commented on the architecture of the community as well as the layout of the house, as this was the major reason as to why the survey respondents moved into Glen Oaks. Glen Oaks looks similar and unified; neighborhood consistent design plays a role in the resale of the house. Therefore, property values are preserved, or increased, and the owners are able to reassure themselves about the value of their house. Most of the residents do not live there specifically because of the gates, despite the fact that residents who live in gated communities throughout the United States often name security as the biggest reason of their choice.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSIONS, FUTURE CONTRIBUTIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

“The irony is that we are trapped behind our own gates, unable to exist. Instead of keeping people out, we have shut ourselves in.” – Anna, the sister of Setha Low, remarked about the length of time it took for her to drive out of a gated community.

The growth of gated communities and their underlying implications has resulted in widespread debate around their likely future impact on the social and urban framework in American cities and suburbs. Developers, local governments, and consumers all play important roles in the development of gated communities as all three groups feed off of each other. Developers build gated communities because consumers demand them. Local governments often favor gated developments since the cost of the gate, amenities, infrastructure, and services are paid for by the private developer and the final homebuyer. It is a win-win situation for these groups, but what happens to residents of that community who cannot afford to live behind the gates and what does the future entail for communities with a large amount of gated developments? Gated communities fail to meet the standards of the AIA’s principles for livable communities, as they are private, disconnected from the urban fabric, are rarely equitable, are not mixed-use, are inaccessible to public transit, and depend on the automobile.

Gated communities appeal to middle and upper class residents. We have witnessed the trend of suburbanization where two distinct spheres are created: wealthier citizens moving outside the city to suburbs, leaving poverty in the central city. Now there is a new form of urban fragmentation where residents are becoming more separated from each other. Gated communities have been labeled as the “new Garden City” model of the 21st century (Landman, 2000), as they are private, homogenous, exclusive, and are governed by contract law. It should be noted that people of similar backgrounds have always congregated together. However, it is the access code and security guard that raises questions about the gated community ideology. When residents moved out of the city into the suburb, people

were not excluded; there was not a gate around the community allowing some and excluding others, and that is where the difference lies.

As discussed earlier, people choose to fort up for many reasons such as safety, noise reduction, neighborhood amenities, aesthetics, prestige, protection of property values, and control, with security and safety typically the most common. Blakely and Snyder (1997) describe how many Americans feel vulnerable, unsure of their place and the stability of their neighborhoods and this is reflected in an increasing fear of crime that is unrelated to actual crime trends. This vulnerability is reflected in a decrease of social capital and connectivity, as well as post-9/11 jitters. The growing methods used to control the physical environment for physical and economic security is a manifestation of a new fortress mentality growing in America (Blakely and Snyder, 1997). The implications of forting up give people a false sense of security and give individuals the opportunity to withdraw from their surrounding community (Wilson-Doenges, 2000).

It should not be assumed that gated communities throughout the United States are similar, and in fact, they are very different. People buy into gated communities in Iowa for different reasons than individuals in California, Florida, or Arizona. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was not to compare Glen Oaks Residential Community to a gated golf course in California or Florida, but to contribute to the gated community phenomenon in the United States.

The excellent location of Glen Oaks makes it an attractive place to live, as well as a desirable marketing tool for developers. The developers of Glen Oaks started the initial development at a time when there was not a lot of development near the neighborhood. Development really started to boom in West Des Moines during the mid 1990s, and it has yet to slow. Residents who have lived in Glen Oaks ten plus years have witnessed these changes. Glen Oaks experienced growth within the last three years, as 58.4 percent of the sample population moved into Glen Oaks during this time. Also during the same time, there have been new developments in West Des Moines such as the Jordan Creek Town Center mall, Wells Fargo corporate campus, West Glen Town Center, and the opening of many additional hotels, shopping centers, and office buildings.

This thesis does not aim to prove the effects of gated communities are negative, rather its purpose is to acknowledge that these effects need to be considered. We cannot assume that American developers will stop building gated developments, as they are a huge profit maker for both developers and local governments. However, local municipalities do have the authority to ban gated developments.

The intent of this research was to determine the motivations or desires that influenced residents to move into the Glen Oaks Residential Community and if there was a greater sense of community created because of the gates. Furthermore, the purpose of this research was to consider the potential long-term impacts that gated communities have on urban development. The research question was premised on the hypothesis that gated communities are enclaves that provide the opportunity for habitants to live in an environment with people like themselves, emphasizing status and lifestyle and not the desire of safety and security.

After receiving feedback from seventy-three survey participants who lived in Glen Oaks Residential Community, some trends were observed in terms of amenity importance. However, analysis of this data is by necessity rudimentary owing to the small number of questionnaires returned. This research was conducted under the assumption that security was not the driving factor to motivate residents to move into Glen Oaks Residential Community.

The residents of Glen Oaks have similar characteristics as people living in gated communities throughout the United States. The Glen Oaks population is middle to upper-middle class and a large percent of the population holds executive or managerial positions. Several residents of the community are retired and moved to Glen Oaks either because of the golf course or the ease of lawn maintenance. This shows how Glen Oaks is a lifestyle community; a community based on the same interests. However, Glen Oaks can also be described as a prestige community. Blakely and Snyder (1997) identified that most gated communities do not fit into one single typology. Glen Oaks can be described as a prestige community for the fact that several residents opted to move behind the gates to protect property values and for the design and architecture of the community. The fear of crime and outsiders was not the primary motivation of resident to move into Glen Oaks. In fact, 87.5 percent of the population was not looking to live in a gated community when they moved in. Instead, most liked the location, the architectural style of the community, the golf course, and

the landscaping. This proves my hypothesis that gated communities are enclaves that provide the opportunity for habitants to live in an environment with people like themselves, emphasizing status and lifestyle over the desire of safety and security.

The purpose of this research was also to look at the implications that gated communities produce and its affect on the long-term sustainability of our cities and communities. Will the gates create further implications in the future? What will happen to West Des Moines if all new housing developments are built with gates? The following paragraphs consider the potential long-term impact that Glen Oaks will impose on the greater community.

Evaluating Urban Sustainability

Landman (2000) contends that the long-term implications of gated communities could negatively impact the goal of urban sustainability. As discussed in chapter two, sustainability is a concept concerned with the city as a whole, and achievements in social, economic, and physical development are made to last. Landman evaluates six key issues relating to urban sustainability and gated communities, and these issues are:

- A sense of community
- Safety and security
- Social exclusion
- Urban fragmentation and separation
- Urban planning and management
- Financial applications

Using Landman's evaluation of urban sustainability, we can look at the physical environment of Glen Oaks Residential Community as well as the sample population's survey responses and comments to evaluate the potential future impact. The purpose of the following discussion is to consider the potential long-term impact that Glen Oaks will impose on the greater community.

Sense of Community

Some studies have shown that gated communities can either enhance or reduce sense of community. Landman contends that a reduced sense of community can lead to negative relations between neighbors. For instance, a respondent stated that Glen Oaks residents were nose-y and snobbish. Another response included, “living in the community is like a high school clique where people are begging to fit in.” This demonstrates some of the tensions occurring in the neighborhood. Some respondents could not place the level of community in Glen Oaks in a single niche, some claimed that Glen Oaks use to be tight-knit, but it has become more distant and unsafe, and others found the level of community somewhere between friendly and private. However, a majority of the sample population found Glen Oaks to be friendly. Friendly does not necessarily mean “a person’s best friend”, rather it could imply a casual acquaintance founded on the commonalities of recreational interest. Only a small percentage of the sample population found the neighborhood to be tight-knit.

When people are not integrated and individuals are restricted from an area, this may result in a decline in sense of community. Kevin Lynch (1981), author of *Good City Form*, wrote, “The grain of a settlement is a fundamental feature of its texture. By grain I mean the way in which various different elements of a settlement are mixed together in space. The grain is fine when like elements are widely dispersed among unlike elements, and course when extensive areas of one thing are separated from extensive areas of another thing.” This quote can be applied to the gated community, as it is not mixed-use and is typically homogenous. A finer grain of integration [of land-uses and individuals] can help support a more time- and energy- efficient lifestyle and can create more vital and diverse places to live.

Glen Oaks Residential Community is not socially integrated into the larger framework of West Des Moines. Citizens can only enter Glen Oaks with a prearranged visit; if your name is not on the list then the security guard can turn you away. An element of sense of community is membership. Although Glen Oaks residents and guaranteed access, or membership, the greater community is not and that will likely impact the sustainability of West Des Moines.

Safety and Security

The gate is a physical example of individuals trying to secure their lifestyle. However, a sustainable community strives for public safety for all, not just the people who protect themselves with these extreme measures. A negative aspect of gating is that it can cause a displacement of crime, which in turn affects other citizens of the community. Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain how the walls are employed to prevent crime rather than applying an integrated, holistic solution to ward off the destructive elements, thus the gated community undermines a community's future sustainability. The gate around Glen Oaks bans individuals from entering, creating complications for surrounding neighbors and emergency vehicles, which harms the community at large.

Social Exclusion

Living inside Glen Oaks obviously exhibits a prestigious lifestyle: it separates the people who can afford to live in the community from people who cannot, or simply people who do not want to live behind the gates. An element of sustainability calls for the establishment of the human environment that has good interaction, and Glen Oaks fails to promote interaction since the development is private and the general public cannot enter unless the gate guard grants the individual entrance. The Glen Oaks sample population was asked if they had specifically set out to live in a gated community and an overwhelming number replied no. Location, golf course, and architectural design were the overriding amenities that influenced the sample population to reside in Glen Oaks. In all reality though, the gates still exclude the regional population from the physical land.

Urban Fragmentation and Separation

Glen Oaks is blocked off from the greater community; it is physically separated and creates a zone of restricted access. A major finding in the questionnaire was that residents liked living in a blocked off area; there is less traffic on the road, it is safer for children to play on the street, and there is less noise created from cars inside the gates (although the Interstate produces a large amount of noise). However, blocking off through-traffic has proved to not be sustainable; part of designing a sustainable city is providing good

connectivity (Walker, 2005). Gated communities encourage car ownership since the restricted areas discourage public transportation. Urban sustainability calls for a public transport system; the gated community acts as an impermeable obstruction and routes, which would have been safe without a gated community, may now involve crossing busy roads and increased travel distances. In addition, car-based residential sprawl can contribute to increased congestion and pollution, which reduces the environmental stability of an area.

Urban Planning and Management

Landman (2000) explains how the traditional role of local authorities are changing due to the development of gated communities; they express concern about problems with fire-fighting, waste removal, and the reading of water and electric meters. The homeowners association raises many questions about the urban sustainability of a community. Those paying for and receiving the private services often are resentful when they have to pay duplicate public services they do not need. McKenzie explains that the “privatization of the few” can create social divides and conflict between the residents and the local government. Social coherence is another aspect of sustainability, but the homeowners association often creates inconsistencies between the individual, organization, and the local government. Several residents in Glen Oaks stated that they liked the homeowners association because the lawns were well maintained. In addition, many residents commented on the aesthetics of the community, and the fact that Glen Oaks was very well maintained and beautifully landscaped. A local government’s budget often cannot fund for the beautification of every neighborhood in the community.

Financial Implications

The distribution of resources and shared amenities also raises many questions about the sustainability of a community. Homeowners associations often leave their residents demanding tax rebates; as discussed earlier New Jersey has lowered property taxes on homeowners in gated communities to compensate for their association. However, tensions are created when people living outside of the gate do not receive a tax rebate, especially when the people living inside the gates opted to in them.

In addition, the cost of living in a gated community and paying the monthly homeowners association fee makes it hardly affordable, which creates a burden to those residents with lower incomes in the area. The homeowner's association fee in Glen Oaks is \$1,980 per year for single-family units and this fee is on top of the resident's property tax. The provision of decent and affordable housing is central to urban development and sustainability. The price to pay to live in Glen Oaks is an inconvenience to some. Thus, the inequitable environment creates tensions, reducing the sustainability of the community.

From the above analysis, it is obvious that Glen Oaks and future gated developments are not a sustainable form of development. The gated community fails to be sustainable because it does not meet the needs of the general welfare of the public. Gated communities do not promote public cohesion, they neglect opportunities for public transportation, and discourage mixed-use development. Sustainability is not a code word for stopping development and community growth, however, growth that does occur needs to be livable now and sustainable for the future.

Future Contributions

Further studies of community attitudes in West Des Moines should be conducted to create a more balanced view of opinions in the study area of West Des Moines. A surrounding non-gated neighborhood in West Des Moines with similar characteristics as to the Glen Oaks Residential Community should be evaluated in terms of the perceived fear of crime, crime statistics, property values, the level of community, neighborhood satisfaction, aesthetic values, and traffic concerns. It would be best to evaluate a community that is exclusive, not gated, and without primary or collector streets in the neighborhood.

By administering a comparison study, conclusions could be made whether or not Glen Oaks has a higher level of community than non-gated communities in West Des Moines, as well as if houses in Glen Oaks retain or increase in property value better than the non-gated communities. Perhaps it is the golf course, Clubhouse, Glen Oaks Owners Association, and the landscaping that preserve the property values of Glen Oaks, and not necessarily the gates. An additional study would need to be carried out to decipher this.

In addition to studying a similar non-gated community, it would be beneficial to evaluate a New Urbanism community: more conclusions could be made about the level of community in gated communities and if the gates reinforce or weaken social values. The essence of New Urbanist design theory is the creation of a *sense of community*. New Urbanism attempts to build a sense of community via two paths: integrating private residential space with surrounding public space, and through careful design and placement of public space (Talen, 1999). New Urbanist communities tend to have better access than conventional suburban communities, as they promote pedestrian and bicycle paths and better connectivity to the greater region. New Urbanist communities promote social interaction by shrinking private space: houses are positioned closer to the street, lots and setbacks are small, houses have porches facing the street, and the garage is moved to an alley behind the house. The small-scale, well-defined neighborhoods in New Urbanist communities promote a sense of community and neighborly relations. It would be useful to distinguish whether residents living in New Urbanist communities have a higher sense of community, because of their emphasis on public space over gated private communities. In addition, since New Urbanists communities promote transportation and pedestrian access, a comparison study could distinguish whether traffic is a nuisance for residents living in the New Urbanist community. If it is, then that issue may support why residents choose to live in gated communities.

To have a better understanding of the sense of community in neighborhoods, the “Sense of Community Index” should be administered to the Glen Oaks sample population, as well as residents living in non-gated and a New Urbanist community. David M. Chavis, the President of the Association for the Study and Development of Community, created an index to measure the sense of community and by using the index, the sense of community in each community can be evaluated. The Sense of Community Index can be found in Appendix H.

One fundamental flaw of this research is the discontinuous answers provided by the respondents. For instance, one open-ended question asked, “Why did you choose to live in Glen Oaks?” Golf received the highest vote, followed by location, security, and then architecture. Another open-ended question asked, “What, if any, amenities attractive you to live in the Glen Oaks community?” Answers were consistent to the above question: golf ranked first, location second, followed by security, aesthetics, and architecture.

For the above two questions the answers were consistent, but when the sample population was asked to answer from a fixed list of amenities (i.e. the fourteen amenities), the importance of the amenity displayed different results. Architecture and home design rated highest in importance, but ranked fourth or fifth in the open-ended questions. After architecture, aesthetics ranked second in importance, followed by security, proximity to retail, golf, etc. Even though golf ranked the highest in importance for both open-ended questions, it ranked fifth when the respondents were given a fixed list to choose from. Security and safety never ranked first in both the open-ended and closed-ended questions. From the results, it can be discerned that security isn't the driving appeal to influence people to fort up in West Des Moines.

Even though answers were mixed, it was suitable to ask both open-ended and closed-ended questions to receive alternate responses other than the fourteen amenities that I personally thought were important. It was assumed that the people living in Glen Oaks would state different amenities, such as the Glen Oaks Owners Association was perceived as an amenity, both negatively and positively, and many people found traffic to be a nuisance. This information would not have been collected if only closed-ended questions were asked.

Another flaw in this study is that it was not asked what Glen Oaks residents disliked specifically about living in a gated community. Some residents did state the negative aspects of living in a gated community, such as "the gate is a nuisance", "I would move to a community with no country club", "I would live on a golf course again, but not necessarily in a gated community", or "I would live in a community with no homeowners association". One respondent stated that the residents in Glen Oaks should have more involvement in tree and flower plantings in the common areas and that the auditing of expenses should be made available to residents. When surveying residents of gated, non-gated conventional, and New Urbanist communities, questions should be asked regarding the negative issues within their community.

In addition, questions relating to the urban sustainability of Glen Oaks should have been asked on the questionnaire. One question, specifically, should address the percentage of car-ownership in Glen Oaks. If there is a high percentage of car usage, then this will demonstrate how gated communities promote the use of the automobile. A community that

depends on the automobile is not sustainable. Also, residents should be asked if they use mass transportation or how often they bicycle or walk. This question could also help determine the long-term sustainability of Glen Oaks.

For further future studies, Glen Oaks should be monitored over time. How does Glen Oaks change over time? Does it become more diverse? Do younger families move into the community? Is it better integrated into the regional community? What happens to the homeowners association over time? These are questions that need to be addressed to determine the future impact of the gated community.

In line with adding a comparison study, the sample size should be increased, as a larger sample size could have added weight to the statistical analysis of the survey. A response rate of 38.8 percent is a relatively good response rate; the response rate of over 30 percent was as good as could be expected for a mail survey (Mangione, 1995). In addition, reminder postcards or second surveys were not sent to participants. A reminder postcard or letter may have achieved a greater response rate if it were sent within the first three weeks, and similarly, a second survey for those who discarded their original survey, could have also increased the response rate (Lockhart, 1984).

This research design would be more complete with interviews or focus groups to gain additional responses on the conclusions from residents, developers, city planners, managers, investors, Glen Oaks Country Club managers, or Glen Oaks Owner Association Board members. A flaw in this research is the developers were not interviewed. The developer is the primary contributor behind the development of gated communities, as they feed the trend of gated enclaves and their comments and perspective should not be overlooked. However, these interviews were not conducted, as it was too time-consuming to administer the survey, analyze the data, and additionally interview other individuals.

In addition to improving the research design, the questionnaires themselves could be improved in future studies. The questionnaire was one page with questions on both sides of the page. There was no white space on the questionnaire and no space for added comments. When the completed surveys were received, several respondents wrote around the edge of the questionnaire since there was no additional space for comments. The design of the

questionnaire could have limited additional responses from respondents; future questionnaires should allow space for extra comments.

It is hoped that these findings will contribute to other gated community studies in the United States. This research has only touched the surface on Iowa gated communities and their underlying implications. This sample population and the basic findings from the questionnaire can serve as a good starting point for further research. The Polk County Assessor provided valuable assistance to this research study, as they made access to Glen Oaks residents possible. The Polk County Assessor is beneficial for future studies for use of their database, which provided the property titleholder's name(s), address, property classification, zoning classification, square feet of property, year platted, type of property (townhouse, single-family, condominium), building style (contemporary, conventional, ranch), a map of the property, photos of the dwelling, and other information.

This research has been the first step toward increasing the knowledge of gated developments in West Des Moines, and it would be interesting to look at other gated developments around the state of Iowa. There are a couple gated communities being developed in Ankeny, which is another suburb of Des Moines. One community specifically never closes its gates, and a security guard is absent. A community in Ames, Iowa has a gated entrance, no security guard, and the gates are open during daylight hours. What is different about this community is that the gate does not surround the entire community. The gated community is not necessarily in a desirable location and there is not a range of housing types in the development. What is the purpose of the gated entrance? It obviously is not to reduce crime, perhaps it is to control who parks in the community, but it is located on the outskirts of Ames and what benefit would one receive to park there? The developers are apparently responding to the growing trend of gated communities in the United States. The gated entrance makes it look more prestigious than the neighboring non-gated apartment complexes.

Recommendations

In the aftermath of 9/11, the need for strengthening and securing American communities has become even more critical. There are alternatives to creating good communities without the gates; implementing Neighborhood Watch programs or using defensible space design can encourage safer communities. The following recommendations for reducing crime, improving the sense of community, and creating cohesive, sustainable, and well-rounded communities are based upon the findings and conclusions of this study.

Neighborhood Watch Programs

The concept of Neighborhood Watch has proven to be one of the most effective ways to reduce crime. Neighborhood Watch began in the late 1960s and early 1970s as a response to a rise in home burglaries. The National Association of Town Watch estimates that at least 20,000 organized neighborhood groups exist that use watch techniques. It brings together local officials, law enforcement, and citizens of the community. Fellow neighbors keep an eye out for each other and look for suspicious activity in their neighborhood, and report that activity to law enforcement and to each other. This helps to reduce serious crime in the neighborhood, as well as making people throughout a community feel more secure and less fearful. If a successful neighborhood watch program is effectively carried out, then there is no need for people to segregate themselves in gated communities.

Defensible Space

Oscar Newman coined the term “defensible space” in 1972 and has come to be called “Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design” or CPTED. Similar ideas have been put forth by Jane Jacobs; Jacobs (1961) explains how there must be “eyes on the street, eyes belonging to those we might call the natural proprietors of the street.” CPTED programs restructure the physical layout of communities to allow residents to control the areas around their homes. This includes the streets and spaces outside the buildings and the lobbies and corridors within them (Newman, 1996). Blakely and Snyder (1997) identify how the theory of defensible space rests on three propositions:

- **Territoriality:** people are more likely to defend territory they identify as theirs
- **Natural surveillance:** the easier it is to observe a space and the more observers there are, the more criminals will be deterred
- **Image:** visual characteristics can encourage or deter crime

Territoriality is created by using designs that are meant for small groups, as opposed to designs used for large groups. Natural surveillance is achieved through elements such as window placement, lighting, and landscaping. Image is created using tactics that signal that a place is cared for—good maintenance, removal of graffiti, people outdoors, and clearly marked boundaries. It is important to note that in relation to gated communities, the concepts of territoriality and image apply, however the presence of gates themselves does not constitute defensible space or CPTED. In addition, Blakely and Snyder (1997) explain that exclusion is not the same as protection, and fenced borders do not automatically create a community that will defend them. Furthermore, when neighborhoods rely on technological devices and security guards for security, they weaken rather than strengthen their connectedness and reverse that individual's responsibility for the security of their neighbors.

Table 25 below lists tactics that CPTED uses to increase security in residential neighborhoods. Assistance with the local government, physical changes, law enforcement, and input from residents can reduce crime in the area by using principles such as maintenance, good property management, and activity support. These tactics can be used alone or together. They bring people together and enable and encourage neighbors to look out for each other and care for their environment (Blakely and Snyder, 1997).

Table 26. Tactics to Increase Security		
Increase outdoor lighting	Form resident patrols	Get to know neighbors
Reduce blind spots	Create territorial space	Improve appearance
Form block watches	Get residents involved	Personalize the environment

Unlike gates and guards, which can be bought and paid for and delegated to someone else to manage, all of these community building efforts take time, administration, and monitoring. CPTED tactics are intended to recreate the social order of the neighborhood,

where people know each other and watch out for each other, where there are eyes on the street, and where criminals and mischievous teenagers find it hard to endanger a person or commit theft or vandalize. Neighborhood Watch programs that use cellular phones typically have lower crime rates; by using the cell phone, authorities can be contacted faster to deter criminals.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this research will contribute to the study of gated communities in the United States and add further understanding as to why there are gated developments occurring in the state of Iowa. This study exposes the implications that gated communities produce; there are two opposing sides that have been labeled as the “haves” and “have-nots”. This divide has various impacts on the community as a whole. Blakely and Snyder (1997) identify in their studies that many residents living behind the gates hope that the closed, private streets will lead to a more open, friendly, and cohesive community. However, the gates separate the community; there is less public space and this creates fewer chances for interaction and tension builds up among community members. The gates are reminders of exclusion, fear, and crime, however it is the stable city neighborhood and tight-knit community that improves the quality of life and sense of community as it decreases opportunities for crime and increases security. Urban sustainability should be recognized as a goal for urban planning and the long-term implications of gated communities should be evaluated. If gated communities continue to appear in the urban landscape, society will continue to turn inward, leaving the Neighborhood Watch programs with no neighborhoods to watch.

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APPENDIX A

Table 27. Crime Rate in the United States per 100,000 Inhabitants

Year	Violent Crime	Property Crime
1984	539.9	4,498.5
1985	558.1	4,666.4
1986	620.1	4,881.8
1987	612.3	4,963.0
1988	640.6	5,054.0
1989	666.9	5,107.1
1990	729.6	5,073.1
1991	758.2	5,140.2
1992	757.7	4,903.7
1993	747.1	4,740.0
1994	713.6	4,660.2
1995	684.5	4,590.5
1996	636.6	5,451.5
1997	611.0	4,316.3
1998	567.6	4,052.5
1999	523.0	3,743.6
2000	506.5	3,618.3
2001 ¹	504.5	3,685.1
2002	494.4	3,630.6
2003	475.0	3,588.4

¹The murder and nonnegligent homicides that occurred as a result of September 11, 2001 are not included in this table.

Source: FBI, Department of Justice, 2003

APPENDIX B

Planned Unit Development – The City of West Des Moines

- A. Planned Unit Development Ordinance shall be used as an alternate development tool for those projects that propose a creative and innovative solution whose layout is not achievable by the standards under which the property is currently zoned. This type of zoning shall be reserved for only those developments which meet one or more of the following goals:
1. To encourage unique innovations in residential, commercial, and industrial development, and/or urban renewal so that the growing demands of the population may be met by a greater variety in type, design, and layout of buildings and by the conservation and more efficient use of open space;
 2. To encourage a more efficient use of land and of public/private services, and to reflect changes in the technology of land development that benefit the future resided;
 3. To conserve the value of the land in order to allow for development that is a creative, unique, or efficient use of the land that the typical zoning standard would prevent;
 4. To provide a procedure which can relate the type, design, and layout of development to the particular site, thereby encouraging preservation of the site's natural characteristics;
 5. To provide for infill development that enhances, revitalizes, and protects the overall characteristics of the surrounding neighborhood and natural resources.
- B. In addition to meeting one of the above mentioned goals, the applicant shall prepare a statement of intent for the Planned Unit Development. The statement shall give specific direction as to the objective of the development.

A reduction or modification of setbacks, bulk regulations, additional signage, or amendment of land uses shall not be the sole justification for a Planned Unit Development or Specific Plan. The applicant must demonstrate how the proposed development is a creative, unique, or efficient use of the land and that the typical zoning standard would prevent such an innovative positive development which will benefit the community.

APPENDIX C

Table 28. Glen Oaks Owners Association 2006 Budget

OPERATING REVENUE		
Assessments		
Base Assessments	\$	630,900
Mailbox Assessments	\$	5,600
Total Assessment Income	\$	636,500
Other Income		
Access Card / Transmitter Sales	\$	13,600
ARC Fees	\$	2,700
Vacant Lot Mowing Fees	\$	3,424
Other Reimbursed Expenses		-
Late Fees	\$	300
Interest Income	\$	2,160
Total Other Income	\$	22,184
TOTAL OPERATING REVENUE	\$	658,684
OPERATING EXPENSES		
Maintenance & Services		
Contract Labor	\$	30,384
Mowing	\$	37,066
Chemical Application	\$	17,591
Landscaping Maintenance & Plantings	\$	52,655
Irrigation System Maintenance	\$	6,200
Subtotal Landscape Services	\$	113,512
Snow Removal	\$	38,000
Trash Removal	\$	58,766
Gatehouse Security	\$	136,344
Additional Security	\$	830
Street Sweeping & Cleaning	\$	9,600
Subtotal Other Services	\$	243,540
General Maintenance & Supplies	\$	300
Fence Repairs	\$	3,000
Streetlight Repairs & Maintenance	\$	31,604
Street Repairs & Maintenance	\$	40,000
Signage & Line Painting	\$	2,000
Gatehouse Maintenance & Supplies	\$	3,150
Gate & Camera Maintenance	\$	10,500
Sewer Cleaning		-
Subtotal General Maintenance	\$	90,554
Total Maintenance & Services	\$	477,990
Utilities - Water / Sewer	\$	14,250
Utilities – Electricity	\$	19,300
Total Utilities	\$	33,550

Table 28. Continued

General & Administrative		
Seasonal Decorations	\$	1,600
Newsletter & Welcome Book Costs	\$	1,080
Management Fees	\$	84,000
Telephone Charges	\$	2,160
Office & Storage Rent	\$	684
Office Supplies & Postage	\$	3,000
Accounting Fees	\$	700
Legal & Professional Fees	\$	1,200
Miscellaneous Expense	\$	3,600
Total General & Administrative	\$	98,024
Reimbursed Expenses		
Access Tags / Transmitter Purchases	\$	12,040
Mailbox Purchases & Repairs	\$	5,752
Architectural Review Fees		-
Total Reimbursed Expenses	\$	17,792
Fixed Expenses		
Real Estate Taxes	\$	1,512
Property, Liability and D&O Insurance	\$	9,504
Total Fixed Expenses	\$	11,016
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENSES	\$	638,372
EXCESS / (DEFICIT) FROM OPERATIONS	\$	20,312
NON-OPERATING REVENUE AND EXPENSES		
Tournament Fees Income	\$	20,000
Tournament Expenses	\$	(2,000)
Capital Improvements		-
Capital Reserves	\$	(18,540)
Income Tax Expense	\$	(5,400)
NET NON-OPERATING REVENUE AND EXPENSES	\$	(5,940)
TOTAL EXCESS/(DEFICIT)	\$	14,372
ADD BACK RESERVE TRANSFERS	\$	18,540
NET INCOME	\$	32,912

APPENDIX D

Spring/Summer 2006 Membership Promotion



- Golf Memberships
 - \$20,000 payable in five annual installments of \$4,000
 - or \$21,000 payable over 8 years (3 payments of \$2,000 and 4 payments of \$3,000)
 - or \$16,000 cash...a savings of \$4,000
 - or \$50,000 cash for a 4-some...\$12,500 each, a savings of \$7,500 per membership
- Young Professional Golf Memberships (YPM)
 - Available to any applicant under the age of 35
 - Initiation Fee of \$20,000 payable over 10 years with annual installments of \$2,000. (At the age of 35, the Initiation Fee would increase to \$3,000 per year until reaching the total amount of the Initiation Fee at the time of application.)
 - YPM Membership will receive 25% reduction in GOLF DUES. (At the age of 35, the dues will increase to Regular GOLF dues rate.)
- Non-Resident Golf Memberships
 - \$10,000 payable in five annual installments of \$2,000 each
 - or \$8,000 cash...a savings of \$2,000
 - or \$25,000 cash for a 4-some...\$6,250 each, a savings of \$3,750 per membership
- Sport Memberships
 - \$3,500 payable in seven annual installments of \$500 each
 - or \$2,500 cash...a savings of \$1,000
 - or \$8,000 cash for a group of four...\$2,000 each, a savings of \$1,500 per membership
- Clubhouse Memberships
 - \$1,000 payable in four annual installments of \$250 each
 - or \$750 cash...a savings of \$250
 - or \$2,500 cash for a group of four...\$625 each, a savings of \$375 per membership
- Offers also apply to Corporate Memberships.

Information obtained from Glen Oaks Country Club website, September 25, 2006

<https://www.memberstatements.com/tour/tours.cfm?CFID=3131017&CFTOKEN=68413592>

APPENDIX E

LETTER OF INFORMATION

ISU IRB #	06-169
EXEMPT DATE:	March 21, 2006
Initial By	ge

Title of Study: **Glen Oaks Residential Community Analysis**
Investigators: **Rachael Goldberg**, MCRP graduate student
Tim Borich, PhD, Associate Dean, Associate Professor CRP, Director of Communities, IDRO
Nora Ladjahasan, Asst. Scientist II, IDRO

This is a research study. Please take your time in deciding if you would like to participate. Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions.

The purpose of this study is to survey residents of the Glen Oaks community, West Des Moines and to investigate what, if any, amenities attract people to live here. You are being invited to participate in this study because you are a resident of the Glen Oaks community.

If you agree to participate in this study, your participation will last for 5 to 10 minutes. All you have to do is complete this one-page questionnaire, fold it and mail it. Postage is provided. I want your opinion on why you choose to live in a gated community. You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer or that makes you feel uncomfortable.

There *are no foreseeable risks* involved in participating in this study. There will be no direct benefit to you. It is hoped that the information gained in this study will benefit society by contributing to the general knowledge of housing issues in Iowa, which can be used by planners, urbanists, and architects.

You will *not incur any costs nor compensation* from participating in this study

Your participation in this study is completely *voluntary* and you may refuse to participate or leave the study at any time. If you decide to not participate in the study or leave the study early, it will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Records identifying participants will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by applicable laws and regulations and will not be made publicly available. However, federal government regulatory agencies and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews and approves human subject research studies) may inspect and/or copy your records for quality assurance and data analysis. These records may contain private information.

To ensure *confidentiality* to the extent permitted by law, the following measures will be taken: The information to be gathered will be collected at 326 College of Design (IDRO office). The originals will stay in 326 COD; the information will then be photocopied and

sent to Rachael Goldberg, the prime investigator, who will be residing in Poole, England. Subjects will be assigned a unique code and will be used on forms instead of your name. The data will be entered by the primary researcher using a password-protected personal computer housed in Poole, England. Only the researcher will have access to the data/computer. Your names will be deleted once the data were coded and entered. If the results are published, your identity will remain confidential.

QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

You are encouraged to ask questions at any time during this study.

- For further information about the study contact Rachael Goldberg at rbgold@iastate.edu. You can also contact Tim Borich at (515) 294-8707, or Nora Ladjahasan at (515) 294-0734.
- If you have any questions about the rights of research subjects or research-related injury, please contact Ginny Austin Eason, IRB Administrator, (515) 294-4566, austingr@iastate.edu, or Diane Ament, Research Compliance Officer (515) 294-3115, dament@iastate.edu.

APPENDIX F

Glen Oaks Questionnaire

ISU IRB #	06-169
EXEMPT DATE:	March 21, 2006
Initial By	ge

1a. Demographics

Age _____ Gender _____
 Marital Status: Single _____ Married _____ Widow/Widower _____
 Number of children under the age of 18 living in household _____
 Occupation _____
 Place of Work (city) _____
 Occupation of Spouse/Roommate _____

2a. How long have you been living in the Glen Oaks Residential Community?

Number of years/months _____

b. Are you a Homeowner or Renter? _____ Homeowner _____ Renter

c. Are you a member of the Glen Oaks Country Club? _____ Yes _____ No

3a. Where did you live before moving here (city/state/country)?

b. How long did you live there? Number of years/months _____

c. Why did you move? _____

d. Is there anything you particularly like or disliked about your old community? _____

4. How is the Glen Oaks community similar or different from your former community?

5a. Why did you choose to live in Glen Oaks?

b. Had you lived in a gated community before? _____ Yes _____ No

c. Did you specifically set out to live in a gated community? _____ Yes _____ No

d. What, if any, amenities attracted you to live in the Glen Oaks Community? _____

6. If you were to move again, what would you look for in your house and community? _____

7. How would you describe the level of community feeling in your community? _____ Neighborly and Tight-knit
 _____ Friendly
 _____ Distant or Private

8. How important do you think each of the following amenities/characteristics were when choosing to live in Glen Oaks? For each of the items below, please indicate the extent of the importance or no importance by circling the appropriate column.

	Very Important		Neutral		Not Important
Golf Course	5	4	3	2	1
Swimming Pool	5	4	3	2	1
Architecture/ Home Design	5	4	3	2	1
Tennis Courts	5	4	3	2	1
Security/Safety	5	4	3	2	1
Gated Entrance	5	4	3	2	1
Neighborhood Friendliness	5	4	3	2	1
Aesthetics/ Landscaping	5	4	3	2	1
Neighbors of Similar Social and Economic Background	5	4	3	2	1
Exercise Facility	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Workplace	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Retail/Commercial Development (i.e. West Glen, Jordan Creek Town Center)	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Interstate 35	5	4	3	2	1
Schools	5	4	3	2	1

To Mail: Fold survey according to the dotted lines printed on the back, seal with tape, and drop in the mail. Postage has been provided.

APPENDIX G

ID Number

Glen Oaks Questionnaire Results

1a. Demographics

Age Average 47.65; Maximum 84; Minimum 23; Mode 30; Median 45
 Gender of respondent Male 67.1% Female 32.9%
 Marital Status: Single 29.2% Married 70.8% Widow/Widower 0.0%
 Number of children under the age of 18 living in household 0.69 child per household; Maximum 3; Mode 0
 Occupation: Management 23.9%; Retired 12.0 %; Housewife 12.0%; Sales 10.3 %; Business and Financial Operations 10.3%; Legal 6.8%; Self Employed 5.1%; Education 5.1%; Healthcare practitioners 4.3%; Art, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media 2.7%; Politics/Fundraising 2.7%; Construction 2.7%; Transportation 1.7%; Computer Operations 0.9%
 Place of Work (city) Des Moines, Clive, Urbandale, or Johnston 58.9%; West Des Moines 28.6%; Iowa 5.4%; Travel 5.4%; Work at Home 1.8%

2a. How long have you been living in the Glen Oaks Residential Community?

0 to 6 months 5.6%
7 months to one year 9.7%
One year to 3 years 43.1%
3 years to 5 years 15.3%
5 to 10 years 16.7%
11 plus years 9.7%

b. Are you a Homeowner or Renter?

100% Homeowner 0% Renter

c. Are you a member of the Glen Oaks Country Club?

61.6% Yes 38.4% No

3a. Where did you live before moving here (city/state/country)?

Iowa 43.1%; West Des Moines 31.9%; Another State 22.2%; Another Country 2.8%

b. How long did you live there?

<u>0 to 6 months 1.4%</u>	<u>3 years to 5 years 12.3%</u>
<u>7 months to one year 11.0%</u>	<u>5 to 10 years 12.3%</u>
<u>One year to 3 years 24.7 %</u>	<u>11 plus years 38.4%</u>

c. Why did you move?

House/Architecture (wanted a bigger/smaller home) 36.1%; Work 27.8%; Golf/Amenities 15.3%; Personal (divorce, wanted to move closer to children) 11.1%; Gate/Security (private) 5.6%; Valuation/Price 4.2%

d. Is there anything you particularly like or disliked about your old community?

Like Location 25.9%; More Neighborly 18.5%; Like the Aesthetics 16.7%; Disliked Increased Traffic 12.9%; Not Neighborly 5.6%; Becoming Unsafe 5.6%; Becoming Run Down 5.6%; Old Neighborhood had Better Amenities 3.7%; Disliked the Bad Management 3.7%; Disliked Maintaining the Yard 1.9%

4. How is the Glen Oaks community different from your former community?

Gates/Security 23.9%; Golf Course 15.2%; Fewer Trees/Landscaping 10.9%; Upscale Architecture 9.8%; Homeowner Association 7.6%; Close-Knit Community 5.4%; Less neighborly/not friendly 5.4%; Larger Lot Size 5.4%; Less Traffic 3.3%; No Comparison 3.3%; Home

Appreciation Value 2.2%; Glen Oaks is similar to past community 2.2%; Better Location 2.2%; More Urban 2.2%; More Professional Neighbors 1.1%

5a. Why did you choose to live in Glen Oaks?

Golf/Amenities 25.2%; Location 21.7%; Gate/Security 17.4%; Upscale Architecture 13.0%; Home Valuation 9.6%; Personal 4.3%; Aesthetics/Landscaping 1.7%; Prestige 1.7%; Homeowners Association 1.7%; Retirement 0.9%; Hate Gate 0.9%; Less Traffic 0.9%; Lot Size 0.9%

b. Had you lived in a gated community before?

11.0% Yes 89.0% No

c. Did you specifically set out to live in a gated community?

12.5% Yes 87.5% No

d. What, if any, amenities attracted you to live in the Glen Oaks Community?

Golf/Amenities 26.9%; Location 21.2%; Gate/Security 20.2%; Aesthetics 13.5%; House/Architecture 10.6%; Home Valuation 4.8%; Homeowner Association 1.9%; Privacy 1.0%

6. If you were to move again, what would you look for in your house and community?

Architecture/House Size 18.6%; Similar to Glen Oaks 16.7%; Location 14.7%; Gate/Security 11.8%; Landscaping 10.8%; Golf/Amenities 9.8%; Good Resale Value 5.9%; No Gate 2.9%; Friendly Neighborhood 2.9%; Less Noise/Traffic 2.9%; No Homeowner Association 1.0%; More Rural 1.0%; With an Architectural Review Board 1.0%;

7. How would you describe the level of community feeling in your community?

9.9% Neighborly and Tight-knit
57.7% Friendly
32.4% Distant or Private

8. How important do you think each of the following amenities/characteristics were when choosing to live in Glen Oaks? For each of the items below, please indicate the extent of the importance or no importance by circling the appropriate column.

	Mean	Very Important		Neutral		Not Important
Golf Course	3.56	5	4	3	2	1
Swimming Pool	2.73	5	4	3	2	1
Architecture/ Home Design	4.35	5	4	3	2	1
Tennis Courts	2.07	5	4	3	2	1
Security/Safety	4.01	5	4	3	2	1
Gated Entrance	3.43	5	4	3	2	1
Neighborhood Friendliness	3.49	5	4	3	2	1
Aesthetics/ Landscaping	4.25	5	4	3	2	1
Homogenous Neighbors	3.45	5	4	3	2	1
Exercise Facility	2.37	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Workplace	3.29	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Retail/Commercial Development	3.61	5	4	3	2	1
Proximity to Interstate 35	3.44	5	4	3	2	1
Schools	3.03	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX H

SENSE OF COMMUNITY INDEX

I am going to read some statements that people might make about their [block]. Each time I read one of these statements, please tell me if it is mostly true or mostly false about your [block] simply by saying "true" or "false"

True = 1 False =0

Q1. I think my [block] is a good place for me to live.

Q2. People on this [block] do not share the same values.

Q3. My [neighbors] and I want the same things from the [block].

Q4. I can recognize most of the people who live on my [block].

Q5. I feel at home on this [block].

Q6. Very few of my [neighbors] know me.

Q7. I care about what my [neighbors] think of my actions.

Q8. I have no influence over what this [block] is like.

Q9. If there is a problem on this [block] people who live here can get it solved.

Q10. It is very important to me to live on this particular [block].

Q11. People on this [block] generally don't get along with each other.

Q12. I expect to live on this [block] for a long time.

Total Sense of Community Index = Total Q1 through Q12

Subscales: Membership = Q4 + Q5 + Q6

Influence = Q7 + Q8 + Q9

Reinforcement of Needs = Q1 + Q2 + Q3

Shared Emotional Connection = Q10 + Q11 + Q12

*Scores for Q2, Q6, Q8, Q11 need to be reversed before scoring.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY INDEX

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS

The attached scale was developed using the urban block as the referent for determining one's sense of community. If you are going to use a different referent, replace "block" with the specific name of the setting you wish to assess (e.g. school, neighborhood, city, church, etc.)

Do not use "community" as the referent.

Make other adaptations as appropriate (e.g. Q12 "expect to live" can be changed to "expect to belong".) Feel free to contact me if you need any assistance.

APPENDIX I

Glen Oaks Residential Community Master Plan

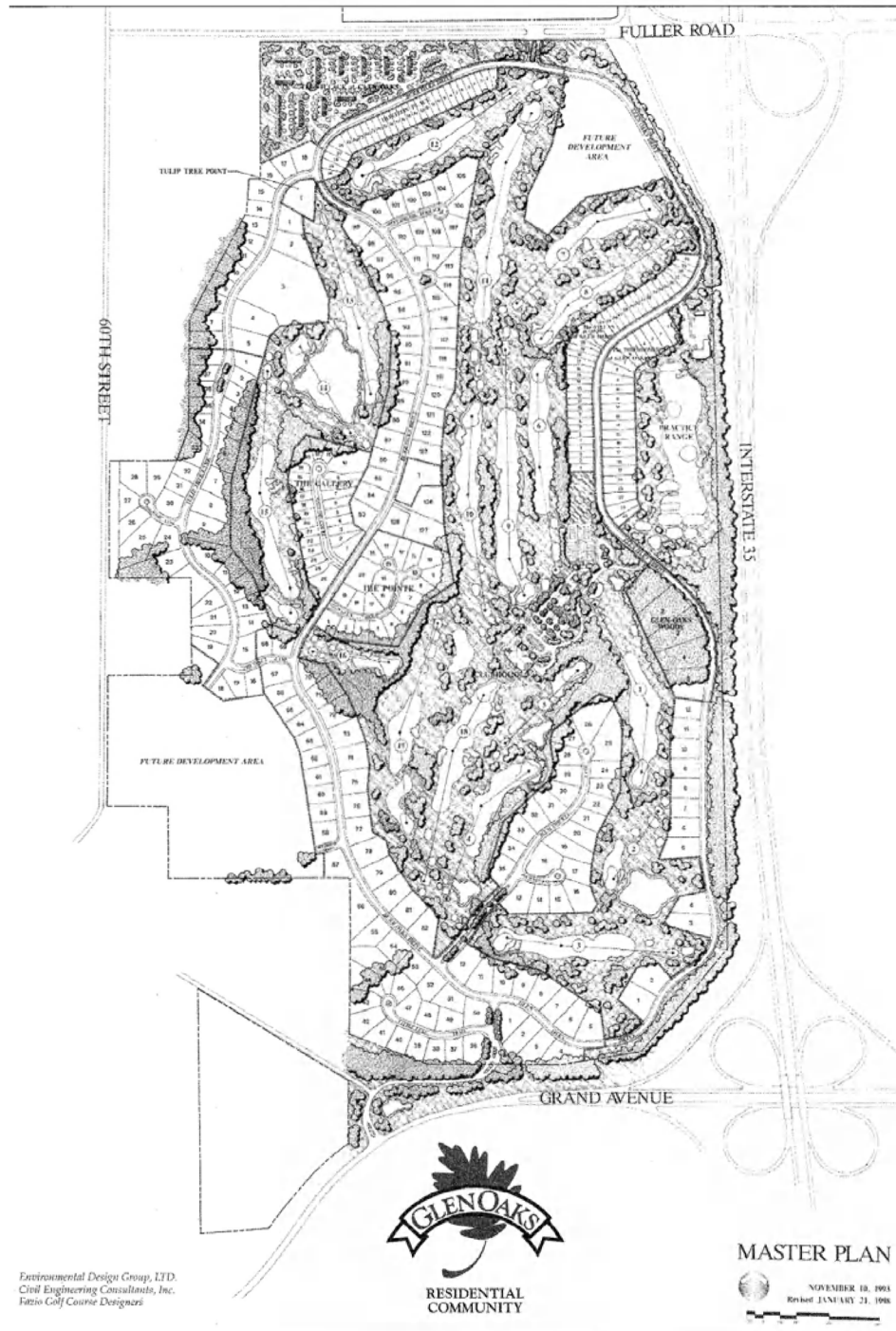


Figure 23. Glen Oaks Master Plan

APPENDIX J

Definition of Terms

Balkanization: A geopolitical term originally used to describe the process of fragmentation or division of a region into smaller regions that are often hostile or non-cooperative with each other. The term originated from the conflicts in the 20th century Balkans.

Conventional Development: Low-density, auto-oriented suburbs that have characterized the American landscape since the end of WWII.

Cul-de-sac: A local street closed at one end with a turn around.

Gated Community: A gated community is a form of residential community, characterized by a closed perimeter of walls and often contains controlled entrances for pedestrians, bicycles, and automobiles. Most gated communities are staffed by private security guards, often with closed-circuit television (CCTV) and other electronic aids.

Homeowners Association: A contractual agreement that binds the residents of a community to specialized covenants, contracts, and deed restrictions. They collect fees, fines, and assessments from homeowners, maintain the common area of the development, and enforce the association's governing documents. The vast majorities of them are incorporated and are governed by a board, which is a private government.

Neighborhood Watch: The idea of neighborhood watch centers on neighbors recognizing suspicious activities and reporting crimes to police.

New Urbanism: A movement in architecture, planning, and urban design that emphasizes a particular set of design principles, including pedestrian and transit oriented neighborhood design, and mixed-use land uses, as a means of creating more cohesive communities.

NIMBY: An acronym for Not In My Back Yard, which means residents oppose a development as being inappropriate for their local area, but do not have opposition to such developments elsewhere.

Planned Unit Development: A PUD is both a type of building development as well as a regulatory process. A PUD is a designed grouping of varied and compatible land uses, such as housing, recreation, commercial centers, and industrial parks, all within one contained development or subdivision. PUD residents retain ownership of their home, but share ownership of other common features.

Police Power: The inherent authority of a government to enact and enforce regulations for the order, safety, health, morals, and general welfare of the public.

Privatization: Conversion of a government-owned and government-operated commercial activity or enterprise to private sector control and ownership.

Public Space: A place where anyone has a right to enter without being excluded because of economic or social conditions.

Sense of Community: A concept that focuses on the experience of community rather than its structure, formation, setting, or other features.

Single-Family Dwelling: A detached building designed for and used exclusively for residential purposes by one family and containing one dwelling unit.

Social Capital: Social capital refers to the collective value of all social networks and the inclinations that arise from these networks to do things for each other.

Suburb: A residential district lying immediately outside a city.

Suburbanization: The process of developing lower-density residential, commercial, and industrial development beyond the central city.

Sustainability/Sustainable: Sustainability means preserving the means of our present way of life and where achievements in social, economic, and physical development are made to last, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Tax Increment Financing: TIF is a tool for redevelopment and community improvement projects throughout the United States. TIF captures the future tax benefits of real estate improvements in a designated area to pay the present cost of those improvements. It is designed to channel funding, or tax increment, toward improvements in distressed or undeveloped areas where development would not otherwise occur.

Townhouse: A dwelling unit that is attached horizontally, and not vertically, to one or more other dwelling units.

Tenure Type: Refers to whether a person is an owner, a renter, or an occupier of a housing unit.

Urban Sprawl: A term that refers to the rapid and expansive growth of a greater metropolitan area. Areas of urban sprawl are characterized as being extremely dependent on the personal automobile for personal transportation. Development in these areas tends to be on a larger scale, and involves larger houses, wider roads and larger stores (i.e. Big Box developments) with larger parking lots.